The Nation

Vol. CVIII NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1919 No. 2805

The Week

IT is hard to fix attention upon the activities of the Peace Conference while the whirlwind approaches across Europe. But it is worth recalling occasionally, as new Governments arise and new revolutionary alliances are formed, that a group of elderly gentlemen in frock coats are still at Paris playing the old game of empire. While they arrange frontiers, the frontiers dissolve; while they talk of a league of nations, half of Europe makes its own league of revolutionary peoples. Shall they fight or placate these new forces, starve or feed them, turn to the Right or to the Left? They do not know. Shall they seek the confidence of the "plain people everywhere" by making a league of nations that contains at least the elements of internationalism, or shall they, steering cautiously between Japan and Australia and the United States Senate, protect every possible nationalistic right of possession and control? They do not seem to know that, either.

THESE gentlemen apparently hope, by some strange diplomatic necromancy, to do all sorts of incompatible things at once. They hope to save the Monroe Doctrine for American bourbonism, and at the same time to protect Australian imperialism against the yellow peril of the East. They must keep our allies the Japanese from emigrating to Australia and the United States; but must somehow hit upon a "formula" establishing "just" relations between races. They are determined to keep inviolate the supreme control of every nation over its domestic policy; but, as the Associated Press has stated, "some doubt is entertained in some quarters as to the wisdom of amendments affirming absolute control of countries over their internal affairs, as possibly prohibiting the extension of outside aid to put down revolutions, and it is possible this language may be further modified." Armaments must be reduced; but, so it is reported, the language of the Article relating to this question "is to be altered so as to limit the powers of the Council to a simple recommendation to the Governments affected." All this is a game that might well be ignored as harmless, except that, owing to the inexplicable patience of the world, it continues to hold up the making of peace, the distribution of food, and a general restoration of tolerable conditions of human existence. Lately, however, impatience, organized, powerful, yet intangible as air, has been moving across Europe. In the guise of revolution, this great impatience is likely to show little respect for elderly gentlemen who are using the world as a plaything.

THE hope that questions of territory and allegiance which have developed out of the war might be settled in accordance with the principle of self-determination, or even in accordance with the historical merits of the case if the principle of self-determination could not be completely applied, grows fainter as the work of the Peace Conference drags on. Italy, it is announced, has relaxed the food embargo which was to bring the Jugoslavs to terms, and the policy of commercial non-intercourse which the Jugoslavs are said to have adopted by way of reprisal will not, presumably, be pressed to extremes, particularly as the Jugoslavs themselves are reported to be starving at an appalling rate. There is slight ground for believing, however, that Italy intends to abandon its policy of political aggrandizement in Albania, Dalmatia, or Jugoslav territory, or that it will willingly assent to any material interference with its plans for naval predominance in the Adriatic. Premier Orlando, of course, must have something to say to his Parliament and to that section of Italian public opinion which insists upon being assured that Italy is going to make something out of the war; and his disposition to preserve a stiff front, even in the face of President Wilson's representations, will be strengthened by M. Clemenceau's general approval of the Italian claims. The hollow pretence with which the plan of a League of Nations is supported is nowhere better illustrated than in this set purpose to grab all the territory possible east of the Adriatic before the League is actually organized. One cannot but wonder what continuing effect the recognition of the Jugoslavs by the United States is presumed to have, if Mr. Wilson is to abandon another of the Fourteen Points and acquiesce in an Italian policy which aims to reduce Jugoslavia to unimportance. The real hope of the Jugoslavs, so far as relations with Italy are concerned, lies in the Italian people and not in the Italian Government. The Italian masses are suffering keenly as a result of the war, and the onward march of revolution in the countries to the north and east is likely at any moment to light the fires of revolt all the way from Naples and Sicily to the Lombard plain.

SENATOR GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, who, two months ago, in a debate with Senator Johnson on the Russian situation, stated that America had consented to intervention in Russia at the request of Marshal Foch, has again let the cat out of the bag respecting the League of Nations. To quote the *New York Times* of March 25:

> Senator Hitchcock was asked if he considered the Bolshevist revolution in Hungary as an eventuality that could be easily handled through the League of Nations. "It is precisely for that sort of juncture that the League of Nations is to be created," replied the Senator. "I think that the uprising in Hungary shows the necessity for some controlling influence such as the League of Nations. The League would work as a machine in adjusting uprisings like that in Hungary."

In other words, as has so often been said of the Holy Alliance, the League of Nations, in Senator Hitchcock's estimation, is to act "as a machine" for the protection of the political *status quo*—as an alliance of existing political forms against experiments in democracy. We do not feel that Senator Hitchcock is an especially weighty spokesman for the Governments or for the statesmanship represented at Paris; nevertheless, he was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate in the last Congress, and is now making a series of important speeches throughout the country in behalf of the President's League of Nations.

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BUT abler intellects than that of Senator Hitchcock are thinking along the same lines. In a long public statement on the League of Nations issued on Monday from the headquarters of the Republican National Committee, Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, and member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, spoke thus:

> The vast territories of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the Romanoffs have lost the rulers who formerly kept the population in order, and are filled with turbulent masses without stable government, unaccustomed to self-control, and fighting among themselves like children of the dragon's teeth. There can be no settled peace until these masses are reduced to order. . . . The Allied nations in their council must determine the lines of reconstruction. Their determination must be enforced. . . . Under these conditions the United States cannot quit. It must go on to the performance of its duty.

Such language is beyond misunderstanding. The League of Nations is to be a militant organization to stamp out Bolshevism. By the same token, it is to be a militant organization for the extension of that system against which Bolshevism is the deplorable but ultimate protest. Can it be possible that President Wilson, in his ardor to establish the name of a league of nations, will so far forsake his own liberalism and the true form of the idea as to fall back on support so specious and so frankly reactionary as that which we have quoted?

THE Nationalist revolt against British authority in Egypt appears to be another illustration of the truth that an ungenerous policy in dealing with political disaffection usually turns out to have been an unwise policy as well. Ever since the formal proclamation by Great Britain of a protectorate over Egypt, in 1915, students of Egyptian affairs have foreseen that the coming to a head of an organized movement for independence was only a matter of time. As far back as November, according to a statement made to the House of Commons on March 18, a deputation of Egyptian Nationalists submitted to the British High Commissioner a reform programme calling for complete autonomy, and leaving to Great Britain only the control of the public debt and the supervision of shipping in the Suez Canal. A request from the Prime Minister, Rushdi Pasha, and the Minister of Education, Adli Pasha, to be allowed to proceed with the leaders of the Nationalist movement to London, in order to discuss the situation, was negatived, whereupon the two Ministers resigned. Later, an invitation was extended to the Ministers to come to London in February, but they declined to accept unless the Nationalist leaders were also included. The action of the Government cost it the support of the moderate Egyptians, and stimulated the agitation which was already in progress in support of the autonomy programme. To add to the disaffection, four Nationalist leaders were deported. When the Sultan undertook to form a new Ministry, the Nationalists resorted to intimidation, and the inevitable collisions occurred when British troops and the Egyptian police attempted to suppress riots at Cairo and elsewhere. The seriousness with which the Government views the situation is shown by the appointment of General Allenby, commanding the Allied forces in Palestine, as special High Commissioner for Egypt and the Soudan, with supreme military and civil authority, and by the announcement that order could not be restored by defensive measures, but that "active repression" would have to be resorted to. The Nationalists, meantime, have laid their case before the Peace Conference at Paris.

A SPECIAL dispatch to the *New York Times* says: "There is good authority for believing that President Wilson, for the present at least, is inclined to make no move toward committing America to accept the mandate for Armenia before laying the matter formally before Congress, which would have to sanction such an action before it could be undertaken." We trust that this report is correct. If there is to be no straightforward and honest solution of the colonial problem along the lines of a genuine internationalism, then we hope to see the United States keep clear of the whole business. The mandatory scheme strikes us as plain humbug, though we realize that it is urged by thoughtful men in good faith. Despite the judgment of such authorities as Lord Bryce, we are therefore strongly opposed to the acceptance by the United States of the mandate for Armenia. Such acceptance would mean an alliance of the imperialist and exploiting powers of this country with those of Great Britain and France, which are expected to control the rest of the Near East. For such partnerships we have no taste. The possible complications involved in policing the region, and the consequent demands on us to keep up a big army and navy, need no elaboration. Our enthusiasm for the plan is in no degree heightened by the statement that its chief advocate is Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge, whose interest in Christian schools and missionaries in Turkey is only less well known than his interest in copper mines in Bisbee. Righteous proselytism, industrial exploitation, and imperialistic "order" combined constitute a trinity from which the true Christian and the American democrat alike may pray to be delivered.

NOW that the armistice has been about five months in effect, and newspaper correspondents have been allowed to enter Germany and Austria-Hungary, why should not newspapers and other publications from the territories of the Central Powers be allowed once more freely to enter the United States? It is true that occasional copies of German, Austrian, or Hungarian newspapers filter in a little oftener than while hostilities were in progress, and that press correspondents are allowed some liberty in sending extracts by cable or post; but it is still impossible to obtain the publications themselves regularly or through ordinary channels, and American libraries are still without their German or Austrian exchanges. As to the latter point, it would be interesting to know what our university and public libraries are doing with regard to recovering the thousands of books, pamphlets, and serial publications destined for purchasers or subscribers in this country, but taken from the mails by the British authorities and held in the censor's office at London. However helpless the libraries may have been down to the time when the United States entered the war, they have not been without resource since that date. an arrangement having existed between the American Library Association and the War Trade Board under which publications of enemy countries might be imported for library use. It is a shame that the largest public library in the world, the New York Public Library, should not have received German newspapers since the spring of 1916; but it will be a disgrace if, by sheer neglect, the priceless and irreplaceable material now stacked up in London should fail to reach its rightful owners. Why should not a few of our most important libraries unite in sending at once a competent representative to take up the matter with the British Government? We are confident that such a representative

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would be welcomed and that his mission would be successful. If some such action is not taken, the future American historian of the war will have to go to Europe for material.

PERHAPS the most sinister story that has come out of the Seattle strike is the account of the work of the "Minute Men" told in detail by Kenneth Macgowan in the *New York Tribune*. Formed during the war to make patriotism compulsory in Washington, the Minute Men developed a highly organized spy system based, according to the statement of its chief, on the German system of domestic espionage. Minute Men spies permeated every branch of the labor bodies of the city. Pickpockets were utilized to search crowds and meetings for weapons. Spies reported the speeches at the organization meeting of the Workmen's, Soldiers', and Sailors' Council, and succeeded in bringing about the arrest of one of the speakers. The Minute Men descended to the lowest depths of espionage by using the *agent provocateur*. Kenneth Macgowan reports an official of the organization as saying, "We had a man on the committee that drew up the constitution of the Council [Workmen's, Soldiers', and Sailors'], and when he got through they had a document that would have sent to the penitentiary any man who put his name to it." If the Government were not so busy at its own game of spying and Bolshevik-baiting we might suggest that this is one article of German make that might well be subject to permanent embargo; we want no Prussian espionage system in this country. Used as a weapon of domestic terrorism it is bound to create an atmosphere of warfare and a bitter clash of loyalties in our own country, and make enemies of mere dissenters. Distrust breeds distrust, just as atrocities breed the equal horror of reprisals. It is encouraging to note that the Department of Justice has at least refused to coöperate with private organizations for espionage, and Attorney General Palmer deserves thanks for his statement that such espionage "is entirely at variance with our theories of government." It is to be hoped that his repudiation will dampen the enthusiasm of the preservers of Prussianism in America.

WE have received the second number of the *World's Welfare*, edited by Stanley W. Finch, "organizer and late chief of the Secret Service of the Department of Justice." It appears to be a journal of law and order in the safe and sane sense, and makes the interesting suggestion that instead of deporting undesirable aliens, the Government hold them "in concentration camps here pending a final settlement of affairs in Europe," utilizing the army training camps for the purpose. "Our soldiers," it appears, "went to Europe to bring order out of chaos, and we are keeping them there to preserve such order; and it would seem that, if we are ever to be able to bring our soldier-boys home again, we must do all that we can to improve conditions over there rather than to make them worse." As the admirable plan thus suggested emanates from the late head of the Secret Service of the Department of Justice, we shall raise no question of its legality or justice, and shall simply offer two amendments designed to improve its working. First, we would not confine its operation to trouble makers of the alien variety, but would include native Americans, too. Second, instead of internment, we would suggest hanging; it is cheaper, more expeditious, and more nearly permanent. With these two emendations, we commend the plan to the League of Nations.

DISTINGUISHED experts from many countries gathered in the city of New York late in March, under the auspices of the Red Cross, for the International Conference on the Rehabilitation of the Disabled. Marvellous kinetic operations were reported, such as that originated by Dr. Vanghetti and developed by Dr. V. Putti, of the Rizzoli Institute in Bologna, whereby the long flexor and extensor muscles of the hand are attached to a mechanism which they control. There was much discussion as to where and at what point vocational training should be given. Italy has found an excellent middle way; instead of making such training compulsory, she gives the disabled man a sample of vocational instruction so that he may see its possibilities and value in his own case. The living-in system in government vocational schools is probably necessary in countries where medical social service has not been developed. The follow-up service, of American and English origin, is awakening much enthusiasm in Italy, France, and Belgium. The United States is particularly backward in the general field of rehabilitation. If Congress had passed the expected legislation in time, the 25,000 to 50,000 men needing such education might have been trained before they were scattered over the country, with an immense resulting gain in economy and efficiency. The keen interest aroused in rehabilitation, however, may eventually bring opportunities for normal living not only to those who are maimed and blinded by war, but also to those injured in industry.

BY a vote of 123 to 63, in the Congregation of the University of Oxford, a statute exempting candidates for Responsions from compulsory Greek was recently passed. Among those who voted for it was Dr. Gilbert Murray, Regius Professor of Greek in the university, who said that the attempt to keep up classical study by compulsion had met with constantly diminishing success. The system had failed, and they would have to abolish it. A protest against the proposed statute had previously been signed by several prominent teachers and officials of the university, pointing out that "if candidates are not required to offer Greek in our first examination, Greek teaching in many smaller schools must perish. It is Oxford, and Oxford alone, which so far saves it from extinction." The signers indignantly repudiate the plea of practical utility. "We are told," they say, "that the matter is prejudged already. Cambridge has already made Greek optional in her first examination; we must copy Cambridge or see our clientèle leaving us for a university which will sell its wares cheaper." "This view," they add, "that if we maintain our traditions we will empty our colleges, is not at all complimentary to the University of Oxford. . . . The popularity of Oxford does not, thank heaven, depend on the cheapening of her degrees."

THE *Nation* recently called attention to the need of having women delegates to the International Red Cross Convention. It is gratifying to learn that the authorities saw the light before it was too late, and that Miss Lillian D. Wald, of Henry Street House, has been sent to Europe to represent the Federal Children's Bureau and the Red Cross Nursing Service. The choice is particularly wise, as Miss Wald has for a quarter of a century been one of the leading American authorities in nursing and matters of public health. A preliminary conference will be held at Cannes on April 8. The Red Cross Convention will meet at Geneva thirty days after the peace treaty is signed.

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War or a Righteous Peace

FOR a time after the preliminary draft of the constitution of the League of Nations was announced it seemed likely that the Paris Conference would contrive a peace treaty which by its superficial resemblance to the desires of America would pass hasty scrutiny. The Fourteen Points were not to be adhered to, and many questionable territorial amputations were to be sanctioned. But the treaty would have had the glozing of democratic rhetoric and would have received its vindication by the weary minds which put it together. And America, bewildered, to say the least, by the raucous European medley, would have been grateful to welcome its delegates home and to get back to business. But the prospect is wholly altered. The force of unexpected popular movements has, it now appears, involved us in the predicament of choosing to stand unequivocally by the principles we affirmed for the peace or to withdraw from the Conference.

The calamity of vengeance which France sought to visit upon the Central Empires has invoked the law of revolt. Not only was Germany to be starved until an indemnity had been paid, but her industries were to be kept idle until French mills were on a peace footing, and then were to be dependent for raw materials on the victors' whim. The German prisoners were to remain in bondage, as a post-bellum reprisal. The Saar basin was to be loot for French manufacturers. The Rhenish provinces were either to be annexed to France or to become an autonomous but dependent province. The Polish tories were to possess not only Poland but East Prussia and Danzig. The Czechs were to encroach upon regions where Germans were in the majority. Rumania was to incorporate innumerable Hungarians in a new empire that was to dominate the Balkans. Russia was to be invaded and made to pay her French debt. This intransigent French programme could not receive the consent of Great Britain, Italy, or America. The British and Italians themselves had prizes to claim, and empires to extend and fortify. But the French insistence was strong enough to enforce armistice terms which, originally as harsh as the demands of military security could reasonably require, were made vindictive and then predatory.

Thereupon something developed which the Paris delegates, burning in the heat of their own inflammation, had not deemed possible. The German people, conscious of the discrepancy between the Fourteen Points and the peace in preparation for them, determined to withstand it. And the Karolyi Government resigned Hungary to the Soviets.

The mood of Germany and Hungary has dispelled the confusion in Paris. The Conference had been a conflict between the clashing claims of the Allies, with little thought that the broken enemy could fail to grant what the victors might agree upon. Now the problem is of another description. It is a question, not of deciding what concessions the Allies and the United States are willing to make to one another, but of finding whether or not peace can be made for the world. Either a meeting-ground must be found with the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, or a new war must be initiated.

The latter alternative is by no means so obscure as it was a few weeks ago. The Scheidemann Government cannot survive if it consents to carry out provisions of any treaty which is not the substantial fulfilment of the pledge the Allies and America gave in the armistice. And the only Government likely to succeed Scheidemann's is an even more radical one. The bourgeoisie is not too inferior, numerically, to set up a Cabinet, but it probably would prefer the socialization programme to national humiliation. The Soviet principle has been passed favorably by the Constitutional Convention at Weimar, and the menace of Allied occupation to enforce a long term of economic serfdom and the expropriation of German provinces would do more to make communists of property-owners than a century of propaganda. Furthermore, the door is open to a formidable East-European alliance. Russia and Hungary would immediately join. The Soviet revolution is expected any day in Vienna. The Czecho-Slovak Socialists have already delivered an ultimatum to the Prague Government. The Polish reactionaries, never representative of the majority, can remain in office only as purveyors of Allied food and as imperialists whose empire is guaranteed by an Allied dictatorship. A German-Russian accord would overthrow Paderewski even more expeditiously than he was installed.

The alternative of war has already been chosen by the chauvinist press of Paris; and the Northcliffe papers, after a few months of pseudo-liberalism, are quoted as advising a campaign against Russia. For such tories in England and France the case is pellucid: better more fighting than Soviets at home. And they undoubtedly think to rejuvenate the jaded armies by talk of rescuing the half-million Allied troops east of the Rhine, and by anti-anarchist phrases. The peace delegates are moving more cautiously. The influence of the Americans is being used on behalf of an understanding with Russia, and our arguments have the authority of the facts which Mr. Bullitt brought from Moscow. But we can hardly hope to change the character of French policy, especially as Clemenceau would prefer war to bankruptcy.

The severity of the armistice terms and the inhumanity of the blockade have invited catastrophe, but the highway to peace is not absolutely barricaded and the road is one which America can show. Our power at this moment, if we are honest enough to employ it, is perhaps greater than ever before. We can veto and direct. We can marshal the liberals of England, France, and Italy and compel the acknowledgement of our disregarded principles. There can be no war without our consent, for we alone possess the means to finance it, with the fresh armies for invasion. The key to peace today, however, is to be sought, not in Moscow or Budapest, but in Berlin. There need be no new intrenchment of a belligerent Europe if Germany accepts the peace treaty. But we are dealing, not with monarchs, but with a nation which through its parliamentary leaders entered into an undertaking to uphold the Fourteen Points. A democracy cannot be coerced to submit to an infringement of such elemental rights as were set forth in that undertaking. Yet the Allies, who are committed by it, have revoked their word. Mr. Lloyd George won his election by a promise to do so. M. Clemenceau is a *Realpolitiker*. Most of the debates at the Conference have been in discussion of arrangements beyond the limits of the agreement. And the secrecy of the negotiations is the confession of their nature.

All of President Wilson's utterances have expressed a belief in the practicability of the moral conduct of human affairs. It is a belief which he may by this time have learned to practice, if only by the bitter lesson of Russia. Does he ever ask himself what America gained by intervention? Did it in the least enhance his prestige for the

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greater task of Paris? Did it facilitate the finer peace? But even this compromise, and many others, may conceivably even now be retrieved. "Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit." If such a peace be made with Germany and Russia, there will be no renewal of bloodshed. It is the President's hour; the course of world affairs has given him the mandate. We are not sanguine that he can exercise it and remain in Paris. If it should develop that coöperation with the Allied plenipotentiaries there means participation in a disaster, the call of loyalty to them would be a poor call to heed. A distinction may be drawn these days between the French Government and the French people; Lloyd George apparently does not represent the majority in England; Orlando is not Italy. The ethics of humanity are better than the practices of the Quai d'Orsay. To European liberals Mr. Wilson is still the leader, and if he ever summons their support after taking a courageous stand he will rally a mightier host than his opponents. These are the words that accompanied the announcement of the Fourteen Points; they remain our promise:

> We do not wish to injure her [Germany] or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the new world in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery.

The Case for Irish Freedom

THERE is an unfortunate and bitterly stupid tradition to the effect that the case for Irish freedom is one to be treated with a kindly levity. Irishmen have always been fighting for some brand or other of freedom; they are "agin the Government"; they notoriously cannot agree among themselves; they are romantic and irresponsible. Of course we love the Irish; but as for independence—well, the proposal is hardly to be taken seriously. At President Wilson's dinner to the Foreign Relations Committees of the Senate and House, it is reported that when the issue of Ireland came up with reference to the League of Nations, a general laugh was raised. And yet an hour's walk through Dublin today would convince the candid observer that the problem is one not so much for laughter as for tears. Dublin bears the appearance of a vast, dilapidated slum. Little meets the eye but the ruins of vanished splendor; an atmosphere of decay and hopelessness and hideous penury rests on the scene. The rows upon rows of fine old eighteenth-century houses with roofs falling in, now inhabited by the poor; the dirty, ill-kept streets and broken-down public utilities; the listless people; the glimpses of abject poverty; the air of utter stagnation and impotence—all these testify shockingly to the maladministration of the British régime. Something has sucked the life-blood out of Dublin. And when we leave the city and pass into the country-side, we find the same condition. There have been reforms, and things are better than they used to be; but it is idle to claim that Ireland really has revived. The British official will tell you that the Irish are intractable, that they have not accepted their opportunities or submitted with good grace to a wise authority. But we are facing facts; and if the present ruin were to be the result, then it is maladministration just the same. The British have had a somewhat extensive experience of the intractability of the Irish disposition; could they not find a way to fit their authority to it? Dublin is a city of despair; and Ireland is a land to stop the heart. Ask the Irishman, and he will tell you proudly that he has been oppressed, but that his spirit is not broken. He will tell you that reforms cannot take the place of independence, that he would be happier and more energetic under his own maladministration, if maladministration there must be. And he will tell you that the time has now come to end the long slavery. He will tell you that there is to be no compromise, but that there will be war if need be, until Ireland is free.

We are apt to forget, in the passage of swift and exciting weeks, how sweepingly the elections of a few months ago in Ireland were carried by Sinn Fein. Those elections, as revealed by a series of posters now in America, were fought on the clearly understood issue of independence. Seventy-three Sinn Fein members were elected to Parliament; and of these, thirty-seven were in British jails and four were in America under indictment at the time of the elections. There was the confusing question of loyalty, the factor of war-emotionalism. But the mandate was dramatic and conclusive. Ireland declared for self-determination. She held a plébiscite, and registered her decision in no uncertain language. Three-quarters of the people who live on Irish soil, in spite of every obstacle, voted in favor of separation from the British Crown.

What is going to be done about it? From this distance, and in the light of those ideals for which, ostensibly, the Entente Allies and America have fought and won the most terrible war in history, the answer would seem fairly simple. Give Ireland what she wants and what she has voted for. The diplomats and politicians do not see the problem in any such simple terms; and there are a great many deeply interested parties who have a word to say. They speak of Ulster, of religious differences, of the absurdity of an Irish Republic off the shores of England; and soon we are landed in the spider's web of British policy in Ireland. But frankly, is there not a sense in which the British are proud of their tradition of failure in Ireland; and do not these psychological factors often determine policy? It is such a complete and amazing failure that the British seem to cherish it as one of their most priceless records; the last thing they seem willing to forgo is the opportunity to fail in Ireland. It is a failure which reflects great credit on some of the oldest and best known of British characteristics. And in the last analysis, may it not be this jealousy for a long and consistent tradition which lies at the bottom of England's stubborn efforts to refuse a logical solution of the Irish problem? Surely, otherwise, some straightforward and candid statesman with a sense of humor would long ago have come forward in England to cut the Gordian knot and set Ireland free.

The real issue, of course, is whether or not Ireland has a separate culture from that of England, as a basis for independence. Space does not permit a discussion of the case for Irish culture; but no sane man who reads his Irish history and knows his Ireland can doubt the existence of a fundamental native culture in that devoted land. The whole Sinn Fein movement has been dedicated to the revival of this culture. That is what Sinn Fein stands for; and the elections prove the issue. There is no comparison with America at the time of the Civil War. The South possessed no such separate culture, in the basic historic sense; there

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may have been the beginnings of a culture, but fifty years have served to eradicate every difference between the South and the North. Five hundred years have not served to merge the Irish culture with the English, and at the end of bitter centuries Ireland demands her independence as fiercely as she did on the day when first she passed under the hand of the conqueror. In our own country the South has not been held in subjection since Appomattox; a spiritual and cultural unity has asserted itself with ever-increasing power, healing over the old wounds of civil war; despite all differences, Americans are today one people. But all the efforts of British Government and administration have not sufficed to bridge the gulf between the English and the Irish. The two peoples remain different to this day.

It is when we look at the coming world-struggle between the economic and the political formulas, however, that the most interesting phase of the present Irish revolution appears. The Sinn Fein movement is not a Bolshevist movement, we are told; yet no one seems to know precisely what a Bolshevist movement is. The fact seems to be that the Sinn Fein leaders of Ireland recognize very clearly the power of the economic formula. Through the development of their coöperative societies, and through the remarkable political writings of their coöperative leaders, they have come to understand the weakness of the old parliamentary system. To be sure, the first steps in the formation of the new Irish Republic were taken along the lines of the parliamentary system; but this was unavoidable. While the situation rests, the machinery for a new decentralized political organization, based on the economic formula, is being prepared; efforts are being made to build up the county administration, and to strengthen the coöperative system, so that when the proper time comes the parliamentary organization can be abandoned without friction or disaster. Belfast, of course, already has for a period set up a local Soviet, and thus has pointed the way to a practical solution of the vexed Ulster problem. It is now generally recognized that Protestant and Catholic Ireland have been kept apart largely by manipulation of the political formula; on the basis of an economic formula they would come together automatically. Nothing would prevent and everything would favor the meeting of a Belfast Soviet and a Dublin Soviet on common economic ground. And a general strike against taxes and rents, if widely organized and strongly supported, could bring the present British administration of Ireland to a halt at any time.

The situation looks ominous. All the ancient spirit of Ireland seems suddenly to have sprung into new and vigorous life, all the old errors of British policy seem to be culminating against it, and Ireland seems to stand at last face to face with her destiny. Every Irishman has been weeded out of the British forces of occupation in Ireland, so that there are now 250,000 purely British troops on Irish soil. England so far has shown a measure of wisdom, and bloodshed has been averted; but the ultimate demands of the situation have by no means been satisfied. At any moment, the match may be touched to the dry grass. England herself would not be a unit behind the fight to suppress the new movement for Irish freedom; British labor in all its recent pronouncements touching on policy has declared for self-determination in Ireland. Yet the story of the war shows all too plainly the total inability of men trained in the older statecraft to express the rising economic power of the peoples in terms of actual political control. They probably will not see it until they are shown.

An Imperfect Plan

ON his own initiative and without first obtaining President Wilson's consent thereto, Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board has just made public a plan for the disposition of the great fleet of merchant ships which the Administration felt compelled to build as one of its war measures. His ship-operating programme relates only to the 1951 steel ships, aggregating the huge total of 12,660,481 deadweight tons, either ordered or owned by the United States. No solution is attempted of the problem of getting rid of the several hundred small wooden vessels already afloat or under way for the Emergency Fleet Corporation. As matters have turned out, the construction of these obsolete craft of low speed and small cargo-carrying capacity has proved a great mistake and contributed practically nothing to the winning of the war.

Mr. Hurley deserves the credit for being the first high official to have worked out a detailed scheme concerning the future of the Government's ships. Convinced that Government ownership and operation of shipping is undesirable, he has evolved a plan for the sale to American purchasers, upon the payment of one-fourth down and the balance on easy terms, of all the Federal vessels at the same prices as those paid elsewhere for tonnage of a similar character. His recommendation is bound to call forth considerable opposition, but we think he did wisely in deciding against Government ownership. In this era of close competition upon the high seas, success depends largely upon quick action and prompt decision, which could not be obtained were a Government bureau to be placed in control of our shipping. Furthermore, as we pointed out in a recent issue, the possibilities of international complications involved in Government operation of shipping, and the great complexity and difficulty of the reconstruction problems facing a Government already inadequate to its existing tasks, render the present a peculiarly unfortunate time to enter upon an experiment so untried and doubtful as Government ownership of the merchant fleet. Yet, strange to say, although Mr. Hurley has declared himself an avowed opponent of Government operation, the plan fathered by him is eminently calculated to prevent the Shipping Board's merchant fleet from passing into private hands.

In official quarters, it has been estimated that the Government's actual and prospective steel ship tonnage should yield more than a billion dollars even if sold at a considerable sacrifice. Under the best of circumstances, it is very doubtful whether the American investing public, hitherto chary of shipping enterprises, could be persuaded to advance such a large amount for vessel purchases. Clearly, unusually attractive terms would have to be held out to our investors to tempt them to furnish a sum of such magnitude for a venture in an almost unknown field.

Instead of offering special inducements to buyers of the Government ships, however, the plan proposed by Mr. Hurley places them at a decided disadvantage as compared with other vessel owners. While obliged to pay the full market price for any tonnage purchased, they take their craft subject to many Federal restrictions. They must agree to incorporate under a United States charter, to issue only a certain amount of capital stock, and to allow a Government representative to sit on their Board of Directors and to help determine their business course. Insurance may not be procured where it can be had cheapest, but must be placed in a

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certain prescribed fashion. The Government reserves the right to determine the route on which a vessel shall ply and the maximum freight rates which may be charged in given trades. If losses incurred by shipowners are deemed by the Federal authorities to be due to incapable management, the vessels may be taken away through a foreclosure of the purchase money mortgage held by the Government. In short, prospective purchasers must operate ships, not in their own interest, but along lines prescribed by the Government. It is extremely unlikely that many shipping men would be willing to buy Government ships on any such terms.

The entire course of the Shipping Board in developing a policy has been marked by apparent hesitation and uncertainty; and the present announcement of Chairman Hurley would indicate that even yet it is not certain just what it desires. If our shipping is to be privately owned and operated, as Mr. Hurley demands, then the terms of sale of the Government fleet must be no less favorable to investors than the conditions on which they can get ships built on private account. If, for example, the Government is to determine routes for Government-built ships sold to private owners, but not for privately built vessels, then the Government's ships cannot be sold to advantage, for no one will buy them. We cannot separate our treatment of the problem of the Government's ships from our handling of the whole question of privately owned shipping. What we need is a policy of proper encouragement and regulation of the whole shipping industry, if so be that is what we desire.

The British Miners' Demands

THE last few years have witnessed a marked change in the character of labor thought in Great Britain. The Fabian Society's formula of social ownership, which until lately has represented the most radical immediate aim of labor campaigns, is no longer felt to be sufficient, as is shown by the demands of the Miners' Federation now before the British Government. In 1912 the Federation sponsored a bill for nationalization; now it threatens a disastrous strike unless the state purchases the mines and in addition shares the management with the men. The point of joint ownership is now the major concern, and state purchase is now only a means to this end. In America, while we have no national guild movement and no body of leaders such as the editor of the *New Age* and his group, we are apparently moving in the same direction, as is indicated by the proposal of the railway brotherhoods to operate the roads under Government ownership.

According to the plan of the British miners, control is to be vested in a council of ten, five of whom are to be appointed by the Federation and five by the Minister of Mines. Two of the ten are to represent consumers. The Minister is to be chairman *ex officio*. The central council will delegate to district councils such power as it may elect, and the district councils, in turn, will control the pit committees. The plan embraces every function of the industry, the council directing not only the output but the entire machinery of distribution as well.

The Federation does not consider the problem of financing the purchase a serious one. It is pointed out that the state, had it issued five per cent. bonds in 1914 to pay for the properties, would already have discharged the debt; that is, the private capital invested in the mines has earned something more than twenty-five per cent. annually during the war. The miners also assert that enormous savings would be effected by central management in obviating wasteful transportation and large commissions to middlemen.

The unrest in the industry, the Federation leaders explained to the Government, is not to be quieted by half-hearted equivocations. The men are asking, not merely higher wages and better conditions, but an abstraction—the right to understand their service. This demand cannot be gainsaid by making concessions in terms of pounds and pence. The miners recognize that the administration of the mines by a state bureaucracy would not affect fundamentally the status of the individual workman, who would remain subject to the arbitrary will of another. He must have a voice in the management, and must comprehend the purpose of his toil and the destination of his product. In fact, the complaint at the Government inquiry was not so much about profiteering as about the success with which the mine owners have kept the men in ignorance of the industry.

The merit of the Federation's proposal is not merely economic; it lies in the intangible aspiration for a sense of service as the primary motive of discipline. It expresses the deepest longing for genuine citizenship. When men threaten a general strike to express this profound desire it becomes apparent that the human spirit has grown through the pain of the war. The temptation of the superficial observer of late has been to decry such movements as are now discernible, not only in British industry, but throughout the world. The charge is often made that labor is agitated artificially, that it does not know what it wants, that it is brutal, selfish, and indolent. True, the motive is oftener than not degraded in the process of expression, and only comparatively few can speak as well as the miners' leaders in Great Britain have done. Not many workers can discuss, save in terms of wealth and institutions, the yearnings which stir them. What do they want? is asked whenever there is a strike. Formerly the invariable answer was, higher wages and shorter hours. More recently we have begun to hear of cardinal rights. But in Seattle the answers given to the question by no means adequately expressed the spirit of labor's attack, just as the demand for joint control of mines fails to explain the cohesion of the largest body of British labor. It may prove true that joint control is not the fulfilment of the miners' desires; it was certainly true that a shipyard wage scale in Seattle was no exposition of the beliefs of the tens of thousands who laid down their tools. But the programme is not the force; and if the plan is wrong, it does not follow that the aspiration also is inherently wrong.

The proposal of the British miners fails, we believe, to include one fundamental and essential provision. It does not specify the claim of the individual producer. If the miner is to be free, he must be free also to reach his maximum of production. Is the citizen valuable to the state merely by understanding his relation to society? Does not the new conception of citizenship imply also that each individual serves to his capacity? And will he do so unless his stipend is in ratio to his power? The decadence of the present industrial order is due, in a degree at least, to the inability of private ownership to stimulate the workman to his maximum. Social ownership changes only the degree of this failure unless it gives play to the individual will.

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The Menace of Blocked Trade Routes

By JACQUES W. REDWAY

A FRENCH writer on economic subjects was taken to task for declaring that the greed for raw material was the chief cause of modern wars. It was a crude way of putting it, but his statement, nevertheless, had more than a grain of truth in it. Human history in the abstract is a quantitative expression of geographic environment—as a matter of detail, a result of topography and climate. To put it more concretely, it is a struggle for the necessaries of life and a battle against hunger. From the time of Adam's fall there has ever existed the struggle of the immortal soul to contain itself within a mortal body.

In places where climate and topography are right, the earth produces all that humanity requires, provided that the region is not over-peopled. In the past, history has shown over and over again the results of over-population—civil war or migration. Sometimes it has been civil war and migration. In modern historic times we have learned the science of bringing the necessaries of life to an over-peopled community. In ancient times such a thing was almost unknown; it was starve, migrate, or kill. History is full of the accounts of migrations of starving and desperate people. Huns, Vandals, Gauls, Kelts, Turkomans, Manchus, and half a score of others at different times left trails of blood all over Europe and Asia; and even the American Indian in modern times has been governed by the laws that govern all nature.

The American school boy who reads that Æneas, the son of Anchises, with the band of Trojans who escaped the swords of the Greeks, settled in Italy, has a pretty good account of a migration which evolved a new type of civilization; he also learns the fundamental causes which went a long way to shape American history. No matter how we look at it, the fall of Troy was the birth of democracy and the beginning of the end of autocracy. It is a long-drawn story, but in the principal chapter of the struggle is related the fact that commercial Europe and feudal Europe could not exist at the same time and in the same place. The Hanse League was an institution of brains; the feudal system, one of brute force; and there could be no doubt about the outcome. And out of the struggle of nearly five hundred years there has grown a civilization the basis of which is commercial and democratic rather than ceremonial and autocratic.

A line drawn from the east shore of the Mediterranean Sea along the Ural Mountains divides the world practically into two civilizations. East of this line the manners and customs are those of two thousand years ago. For the greater part its economic basis is specifically different from that of Europe and America. For the greater part, too, each community lives wholly within itself. Production, manufacture, and commerce are local. Long-distance commerce is limited by the load which a camel can carry; and nearly all the trade on a larger scale is carried on at annual fairs. Of intercourse among distantly situated communities there is next to none. The use of iron and steel is confined to a few domestic articles and weapons of warfare. Family life as well as social life is regulated by ritual, and servile submission to the traditions of the past is almost absolute. Orientalism is gradually slipping into the past, however. Japan has shaken off the old, and has become a most virile and active factor in western civilization. Asiatic Russia is growing slowly into western methods. European India is intensely western; native India is fanatically eastern and conservative.

Western civilization is an institution apart; it is intensely cosmopolitan. The literature of philosophy born in Athens is the foundation of its intellectual life. The moral code of the Jews, softened and sweetened by the beautiful character of the Nazarene, is its moral law today. The Justinian code is the foundation of its statutory laws. The science born of Egypt, Arabia, Chaldea, and China—mathematics, chemistry, and astronomy—is the corner-stone of its material progress. And to India the western world is indebted for a psychology that is not yet fully appreciated. Practically but one science, that of electricity, is the achievement of its own discovery and development.

Community centres in the western world exist, it is true, but they play no part in its progress. Wherever they exist society is in a state not much above savagery. Industrial centres are the basis of its strength and its progress. The individual of the western type of civilization draws from all the rest of the world and gives to all the rest of the world in return. His type of civilization has evolved because of this intercourse and not in spite of it. Its fundamental feature is its cosmopolitan character. Take away this feature and it could not long exist. So broad is this intercourse that the setting of an ordinary breakfast represents pretty nearly every part of the globe—linen woven in Ireland from flax grown in Belgium; iron from Sweden and Michigan made into steel in Pittsburgh; silver from Nevada fashioned into wares by silversmiths of Connecticut; coffee from Java sweetened with sugar from Cuba; tea from Ceylon or from China; pepper from the East Indies carried by ships built in Glasgow; porcelain wares from Japan and Austria; a rug from Afghanistan, or a carpet of wool grown in Russia. All this and more, too, is the way of the western world.

The distinctive feature of the western type of civilization is the evolution of great industrial centres. They are also great economic centres. Each exists because geographic environment has made the production of a specific commodity easier, better, and less expensive within its borders than elsewhere. Thus, in the New England plateau, because of the topography that furnished power, there grew into tremendous proportions manufacturing enterprises that required a high degree of skill. As a result, the products of this region go to pretty nearly every people in the world. Similarly, in the Appalachian region and along the shores of the Great Lakes, the manufacture of structural steel has developed into the greatest industry of its kind in the world. Steel rails made of ore from Michigan and wrought into shape at Pittsburgh or at South Chicago are spiked to ties in Siberia and China; and steel bridges span rivers and canyons in Africa and South America. The glacial drift of the prairie States contains the best nutrition for the wheat plant, and a level surface has made possible the highest development of farming machinery ever conceived. And lo!—a bushel of wheat grown in Kansas can compete in western Europe with the grain grown in the plains of the lower Danube. Climate and soil have made the Gulf States the

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world's best garden for cotton; and the cotton-growing States respond with three-quarters of the world's supply.

The successful outcome of this highly organized concentration of production demands an equally organized system for the marketing of products. Each centre of production supplies the others, and in return receives from the others. Moreover, economy of time—the only economy which mortals can compass—demands that the products shall go to the consumer by the quickest and most inexpensive route. Wherever there are people there are markets. The markets do not have to be discovered; the routes to them, however, have been a serious problem ever since human intercourse began. Trade routes are lines of least resistance. Nature has made them; humanity has not always been honest in controlling them.

Trade routes are to an industrial people what the arteries are to the human body. An embolism of a blood vessel disturbs the functioning of every part of the body. The stoppage of a trade route disturbs the whole world. The blockade by the Turks of a route between Europe and the Orient sounded the doom of Venice and Genoa as great trade marts. One effect was the discovery of an all-water route to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Immediately afterward there followed a tremendous increase of the commerce which years before had grown up around the shores of the North and the Baltic Sea. The disappearance of feudalism in time followed—perhaps not as an effect; certainly as a noteworthy incident. The commercial centres of the whole world were readjusted in consequence.

The history of Khaibar Pass is an illustration of the importance of a trade route. For centuries it has been the chief overland gateway between Europe and India. Neither the sea commerce around the Cape nor that of the Suez Canal has blinded Great Britain to the fact that her continued hold upon India depends on the possession of Khaibar Pass. From Peshawar to Jalalabad the distance is a short hundred miles; the pass itself is not more than thirty-five miles. For centuries it has been a battle-ground, and its pathway is cemented with the blood of the thousands who have fought for its possession or in its defence. Lord Clive realized its importance; apparently the Peel Ministry did not—hence the annihilation of General Elphinstone's army of sixteen thousand troops on that bloody Sunday in the heart of a cruel winter. The words of Dost Muhammad Khan were prophetic: Whoso would be master of India must first make himself lord of Kabul. And the past seventy years of diplomatic fencing between the British and the Russians have borne witness to the wisdom of the wily Afghan ruler. In the meantime the Germans conceived and built the railway from Berlin to Bagdad. The carrying out of the design gave them a strangle-hold upon India. The eastern terminals would command the approaches to the Persian Gulf. They also led to the open door across Persia. They threatened both Khaibar and Bolan Passes. True, the British have built railway approaches from Karachi, at the mouth of the Indus, to Kabul and to Kandahar; nevertheless, with the western approaches in the hands of a foe, the struggle for possession of India would be one of desperation. There can be but one peaceful solution to the future of Khaibar Pass, and that will be its opening to all peoples of the world on equal terms.

The Germans have complained bitterly that they were handicapped for want of an open way to the English Channel. As a matter of fact, in the past, a very large part of their Rhineland commerce went across Holland or Belgium to Amsterdam or to Antwerp. This has been the transit trade of the two countries and nearly all of it originated in Germany. It was the product of the Rhineland factories. To be shipped from a German port it must go either from Hamburg or from Bremen. But Hamburg is practically an inland port. From the docks to Scharhörn Light is not far from sixty miles. Bremen's docks are about as far from Bremen. Moreover, from either port, the distance is five hundred miles greater to a port of Atlantic traffic than from Antwerp. Viewed in the light of European history in the past, is it strange that the Germans should look covetously upon the short and level route from Cologne to Antwerp—a route that would save precious time and tens of thousands of marks on each trip? Occasionally it is profitable to view things through the eyes of another. Now it cannot be denied the Germans had a right to safeguard their transit commerce beyond the possibility of future interference. It is equally certain that there can be no justification of the dastardly way in which the Germans went about it. But if the short route was guaranteed to the Germans it should also have been made equally safe to all others.

Swiss commerce is in a position far more precarious than that of the Germans. The Swiss have no commercial outlet to the sea, except over extra-territorial trade routes. Their manufactures have become of world-wide importance. Quality born of skill and an economic organization that is not surpassed elsewhere in the world have placed the Swiss beyond competition in many of their manufactures. And this in a country a mile and a half above the sea level and without an ounce of coal or of iron! The Swiss are now asking open trade routes to the coast—one by way of the Rhine, the other by the Rhone valley—that shall be beyond the possibility of obstruction. Is their demand unreasonable? As a boundary between France and Germany, the Rhine has many a time flowed red with blood. A navigable river which is a boundary between nations invites strife. Each nation schemes for absolute control. Strife is most likely to cease when the world takes the stream and makes it as free for traffic as is the high sea. And the world is beginning to demand this same freedom. Moreover, the world will surely demand and receive an equal freedom in the Kiel ship canal.

Within the past sixty years precedents that have received the approbation of the world have been established. First of all is the navigation of the Danube. The valley of this river is to Europe what the Great Lakes and the Mohawk Gap are to the United States. It is the open gateway between the grain fields of the lower Danube and the overpeopled manufacturing districts of western Europe. Imagine the result should a hostile force blockade the Iron Gates and strangle this movement of foodstuffs! Such a calamity might happen; so all Europe applied the means of prevention. A commission representing the eight leading Powers regulates the commerce of the river. The commission sits at Galatz. Its business is to keep the river open to all on equal terms. Its powers are great; the commission can remove any obstruction, physical, moral, or immoral, that interferes with commerce.

The Suez Canal is another instance. Under the first management its operation was so unfair that, at one time, war seemed close at hand. But, in 1888, a commission representing nine European Powers agreed upon a plan, and the plan was an open gateway to every flag on equal terms.

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The Panama Canal is still another instance. Our first treaty with Great Britain stipulated that the waterway should be open to both nations on equal terms. The treaty with New Granada, now Colombia, provided the same terms to all nations. Taking advantage of the subterfuge that the Canal Zone is United States territory, a Congress enacted rates that gave American shippers preferential terms. But another Congress quickly put matters in the right shape by opening the gates to all alike.

Over a great trade route are carried the necessaries of life for millions of human beings. No community can keep on hand a supply of food for more than a few weeks; some food is so perishable that it must be delivered daily. A snow blockade between New York city and its milk supply resulted in the death of hundreds of children. The disturbance of coal traffic at the beginning of the war brought suffering to the whole country and threw thousands out of employment. The moral is obvious. An open trade route is as much a necessity as is the production of commodities; and the stoppage of one is as disastrous as the stoppage of the other. There is no material difference between freedom of trade routes and freedom of the seas; and the sea is the greatest and most important of all trade routes. Between the Mohawk Gap and the Atlantic steamship lane there can be no haggling over preferential rights. The rights of the one are the rights of the other, and the restrictions should bear equally on all.

Great trade routes, no matter where situated, are more than national; they are international. Their use and abuse affect the whole world. No one will question the right of the nation in which a great route lies to receive a just recompense for its use, but the world has the right to insist that the privileges of one are the privileges of all. Still more, the power that obstructs the passage even of a grain of wheat on its way from the producer is power for evil and an enemy to all humanity.

The Fall of Princes

By FREDERICK TUPPER

THE fall of Hapsburg and of Hohenzollern had drawn from the Hellenist of the arts faculty seasonable discourse upon *hybris*, the insolent boldness of the enthroned criminal, and upon the avenging Furies, who pursue the now abject outcast to the dreary shore, wounding his tortured bosom, and firing his brain to frenzy. Choosing the moment when the little circle was thus attuned to the Æschylean mood, he of the Greek chair had produced from his pocket "The Persians," and had freely Englished the wonderful lines that totter with the ruin of the whole barbaric host. Not Xerxes but his modern counterpart had been in every man's thought, as the deepening voice read of the king who had sent forth the unwise summons to arms over a country rich in the arts of peace, and who, big with the pride which calls down destruction from the gods, had led the youth of the land, thus bereft of men, to gorge the realms of death. Piercing are the wails of the fugitive monarch, as he chants the dismay and despair of unexpected defeat, beating his breast, as he proclaims himself the bane of his family and his fatherland. "Fallen, fallen is Persia's imperial power, and conquest on her banners waits no more!"

The thing had been timely enough (trust a classicist for that sort of tact), and the voice of the mediævalist had swelled the chorus of "Io, triumphe." And yet he reflected, as he sat at his desk that evening, that this Teutonic kingcraft, now crumbled to dust before men's eyes, was a creation of his own Middle Ages and that, therefore, the true analogies to its dissolution must be preserved in the minuscule and black letter of old cloisters and book-rooms. A moment's thought, and he had the very parallels that he wanted—here on his own shelves in a treasured volume. Reverently he took down the folio printed by John Wayland in Mary Tudor's bloody reign, and read for the hundredth time its title: "The Tragedies, gathered by John Bochas, of all such Princes as fell from theyr estates through the mutability of fortune since the creacion of Adam until his time: wherein may be seen what vices bring menne to destruccion wyth notable warninges howe the like may be avoyded. Translated into English by John Lidgate, Monke of Burye." This was a book which, in the history of its making, looked before and after. Through a French intermediary it harked back two centuries to Boccaccio—not to the merry tale-teller of the pleasant gardens near Florence, but to that solemn later self, the prosy moralist who, in quest of grave Petrarch's praise, had penned nine books, "De Casibus Virorum et Feminarum Illustrium." This Latin prose had suggested the "Tragedies" of Chaucer's Monk, whose exhausted hearers on the Canterbury Road had been saved from heavy sleep only by the clinking of the bells on his bridle. With this brother churchman the Monk of Bury was linked by a sympathy of somnolence. And yet this massive book of Lydgate's, which the mediævalist fingered so lovingly, had been a vital influence throughout the reigns of Elizabeth and James, directly inspiring the many versions of "The Mirror for Magistrates," wherein all men may read of "the untimely falls of such unfortunate princes and men of note as have happened since the first entrance of Brute into this island until this, our latter age." By the way, the last edition of the "Mirror" (in Joseph Haslewood's three splendid volumes) was published in 1815, the very year of the downfall of the greatest of princes, Napoleon Bonaparte.

Now all these stories are "tragedies," as the Middle Ages reckoned tragedy—the sudden fall of men of high estate. The greater the prince and his prosperity, the greater the challenge to Fortune—a dreaded deity in those insecure days, when hearts were bowed under much reflection upon the uncertainty of human life and the inconstancy of happiness. "All stands in change, like a midsummer rose." In "The Fall of Princes," Fortune appears as a monstrous image, her right side full of summer flowers, her left oppressed with winter storms, some of her hundred hands lifting men aloft, others casting them into great adversity, her dress of gold mingled with green, the hue of change and doubleness. Chaucer's Monk deems her "first friend and after foe." Let no man trust to her favor long; for when men trust her, she will fail and cover her bright face with a cloud. When she listeth to flee, no one may check her course. Over the unhappy fate of mighty conquerors she laughs and makes sport. Her wheel turneth ever. Her unexpected strokes fall heaviest upon kings who are proud, for

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it is "high pride" (the *hybris* of the Greek, the superhumanity of the Teuton) that she always assails. Hence the discourses of mediæval sermonizers upon fallen greatness are brimful of royal examples of punishments meted out to the deadliest of the sins.

The scores of "tragedies" of kingly victims of malicious Fortune and their own false pride are drawn from every time and place. Boccaccio and Lydgate point the moral of retributive justice with Saul and his suicidal campaign against Philistia, with Antiochus and his overweening plans of conquest, with Rhadagasus, Odoacer, and other ruthless Germanic kings, all early apostles of frightfulness. In Chaucer's fateful record are the proud Nebuchadnezzar, who reared a golden statue sixty cubits high, before which all must bow (doubtless very like the Berlin *Siegessäule*), and the prouder Nero whom his people, wearied of tyranny, drove from his palace and throne (one thinks of the recent flight from Potsdam to Holland). And that wonderful legendary, the "Mirror," offers many less familiar stories, historically apocryphal, but amazingly apposite just now. Here is the tale of one Guidericus (perhaps an anticipation of Gulielmus), who "became desyrous to winne all the worlde and spoyled France, Germany and a great part of Italy," yet furnished by his miserable end "a syngular ensample of God's vengeance against pride and arrogancy"; and here is recounted *(mirabile dictu!)* the hapless fall of that King of the Huns who "was minded to conquer Britain," but died wretchedly "in forayne soyle," exhorting men to take heed by his folly and rashness. Evidently the old moralizers would speedily have taken the measure of that half-mediæval potentate, the last royal Hohenzollern.

Indeed the temper of the Middle Ages finds absolutely accurate expression in the grim humor of those Frenchmen of Metz who, a few weeks since, not only loaded with chains the image of William on the façade of their cathedral, but attached to the hated symbol of arrogant tyranny the significant inscription, "Sic transit gloria mundi!" Just such was the fifteenth-century sense of poetic justice. Every phase of the late Emperor's career as ruler blared defiance to the malign goddess, Fortune, always jealously regarding with eyes aslant the wantonness of prosperity. To his habitual assertion of the divine right of kings a deity of the feudal ages would perhaps have been too lenient; but to the superb self-sufficiency which vaunted its intent "to pursue its own path without regard to the views and opinions of the hour," and to the blatant megalomania which loudly trumpeted its mastery over the immortal parts of men ("you soldiers have given yourselves to me, body and soul") she would have shown as small mercy as to any vice or victim in Lydgate's list. Her ominous frown falls ever upon "a place in the sun." The "will to power," which turns a nation into an armed camp ("The soldier and the army have welded together the German empire"), and which breeds, as the "Mirror" tells us, woeful wars and deadly hate, meets, in a dozen poems, judgment from Fortune's mocking lips.

The monarch "in shining armor," who bases his very right to rule upon mediæval theory, who claims persistently mediæval privileges and perquisites, and who uses habitually a mediæval jargon, cannot evade the touchstone of fine-grained mediæval ideals. The Middle Ages set side by side with "The Fall of Princes," a medley of even deeper wisdom, "The Regement of Princes," the composite of many manuals for the mental and moral guidance of royal youth. Our Lydgate's fellow-rhymer, Thomas Hoccleve, the chief of those who turned into English currency this wealth of traditional instruction, admonishes Henry V, Shakespeare's Prince Hal —later, like William, the invader of France—that a king must above all keep his faith, must hold his word sacred. "The people of Scythia and Arabia were ruined by the falseness of their kings, who misused sworn pledges to deceive neighboring countries and thus broke bonds that had been established for the good of mankind." Of the people of Germany and their rulers this very story is now retold. Had Hoccleve known his own country's literature, he would have added that truth is the very essence of the early Germanic ideal of kingship, citing as evidence the boast of the dying Beowulf: "At home I bided what fate might come, I held my own with justice; I followed no treacherous warfare, nor ever swore false oaths." No vaunt of the Hohenzollerns this! As the old poet holds aloft before Hal the ideal of humility—the sovereign gentleness of Alexander and Scipio, the gracious meekness of David and Solomon—one seems to hear a harsher voice than the boy Henry's threatening: "All those who oppose me in my work I will crush." In a king "mercy must season justice," as Shakespeare said later under the sway of the same tradition as our moralist. By a score of examples the "Regement" attests that this temperate justice of a monarch preserves subject-peoples from oppression. Need we pause to seek modern instances in Prussian Poland, Schleswig, and Alsace-Lorraine? The soldiery of a merciful prince will "observe the rights of battle as truly as the rights of peace, harming no children and helpless folk in captured towns, but bearing arms only against armed men." Four centuries later, did the mighty Emperor of the Germans thus wage knightly war?

Hoccleve's manly and pious offset to the "Fall of Princes" closes with a spirited appeal to all Christian rulers for a lasting peace. "He who maketh strife is a wretch. Accursed be the greedy heart that will swallow all, with wrathful will and crabbed pale face and hostile hand dealing revengeful stroke! Let peace drive out strife, friendship banish hate, tranquillity kill ire!" In this fervent prayer the Middle Ages found nothing exceptional or exceptionable. Indeed, only ten years before, old John Gower, writing at even greater length "In Praise of Peace," had exhorted young Henry's father, just entering upon his reign, never to shed blood save in the cause of righteousness, for "if a king truly understood how great an ill it is to slay the people, then deadly wars and all their heaviness would at once cease." The reproach of William Hohenzollern is not, as some have said, that he followed mediæval ideals, but that, in his glorification of pinchbeck mediævalism, ever tawdry and outworn, he missed utterly every exalted ideal that the true Middle Ages cherished.

Lydgate's folio, so big with the fate of kings, was but a beginning; and the supplementary stories of the Elizabethans carried the theme of downfall only a little further. Not until this very hour could men forecast the *finis* of the eventful history. Nicholas, William, Karl, Constantine, Ferdinand, and the Germanic host of fallen kinglets and princelings—these crowd the last lurid pages of a volume which will need no sequel. Nor do we folk of the twentieth century deem this trem ndous finale a tragedy, but rather a blessed awakening from an agelong night of horrors. As the mediævalist cheerfully closes his ponderous book, he draws happy omen from even its printer's emblem: a person awaking a sleeper, and pointing to the young sun—"Arise, for it is day!"

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The Grave Situation at the Peace Conference

(By Cable to the *Nation*)

Paris, March 28

NOT even the decision to cut down the committee of ten to the Big Four and so hasten the making of peace reveals to the full the shock which the Peace Conference has sustained from the sudden surrender of Hungary to Bolshevism. But it is undeniable that some people here now see the handwriting on the wall. I am struck by the great change in the feeling in Paris in the last six weeks. The optimism that was universal when I left is now found only in the highest circles. Veteran journalists are saying openly that anything may happen, particularly as M. Clemenceau's position no longer seems as secure as a week ago; one journalist has cancelled his sailing for America, which was scheduled for this week, fearing a collapse of the Conference. For this change other things besides the delays are responsible. For what progress has been made the world has the Americans and the English to thank. Our representatives have from the first realized the Bolshevist danger and the need of feeding the Central Powers as well as the other countries, but delegates of the other Powers have resisted every such effort. The lifting of the German fishing blockade this week crowns the effort started by Americans as far back as early December. All that has been accomplished has taken infinite patience on the part of both Americans and English. The differing views of the French have often seemed to us fatal to the purposes of all. In every committee and subcommittee there are differences of opinion.

The Committee on the League of Nations has its work well in hand and has made numerous changes this week and will make more. But the question is whether we shall get any league and any peace at all. I have talked to some people at the Hotel Crillon who have given up all hope. For one thing, the attitude of Germany is causing profound concern. Germany has hit upon the most dangerous weapon in the world—non-resistance. It is needless to say this is not from any ethical reasoning or any sudden conversion to the practicability of the teachings of Jesus, but becaus the Germans see in the lack of aggressive constructive statesmanship in Paris an opportunity to defy the Allies to go back upon the Fourteen Points in any respect, and they shrewdly suspect that the Allies have no desire to put any more troops into Germany to be exposed to the risk of Bolshevist infection. All Germans who have considerable property interests are eager to have the Allies walk in and uphold the old order. In this point of view they are at one with the Government leaders who declare that they will under no circumstances give up German territory east or west. All the dispatches from Germany which have appeared this week have borne out the reports I have made to the leading British and American authorities since my return, as to the rapidly growing antagonism in Germany to the signing of any treaty of the kind now being proposed. Yet no one suggests a return to fighting. It would be impossible to recruit 20,000 Germans to go to war again. What is planned is a simple refusal to accept any treaty which goes beyond a reasonable indemnity for Belgium and Northern France, the abolition of the army and navy, and the loss of colonies and of Alsace-Lorraine. The Germans may then say to the Allies: "What are you going to do about it?"

I have tried to find out what the policy of the Allies would be in case this should happen and can only learn that the food blockade would immediately be restored. But I get no reply when I ask the men who suggest this if they think that the humanity of the Allies will stand such a strain, especially in view of the recent refusal of General Plumer's British soldiers to stand guard over starving women and children. Personally I am not convinced that Germany will refuse to sign, if that means the death of from ten to twenty millions of people, for I cannot conceive any men being so Spartan as to take that attitude. I cannot forget, too, how many Germans told me they would never give up their fleet, and yet how readily they gave it up when the time came.

But what the situation calls for is the immediate conclusion of peace, and that is not in sight, despite the rumor of its coming next week. The Peace Conference as a whole disappeared long ago, and all semblance of a conference organization as well. The Committee of Ten has now gone; will the Committee of Four do any better even in view of the Hungarian warning? That collapse, incidentally, is laid by some American officials squarely at the doors of Senator Lodge and of our Senate, for amending the Hoover food bill so as to prevent the giving of food to any former enemies. Karolyi, in his letters to Paris, has been begging for food and foretelling just what would happen. His appeals were in vain, and there is the most intense anxiety lest what has happened there be repeated in Slovakia, Italy, and especially in Austria, where Vienna is now considered as surely doomed as Petrograd. I have talked with one of the ablest American observers just back from Italy. His word is that the situation there is very serious. Indeed, there are enough sad prospects to intensify the gloom of those who see nothing ahead but the collapse of Europe. But this is not the time to despair or take counsel of the hopeless. We shall learn in the next few weeks whether the world's statesmanship is or is not completely bankrupt. There is little doubt that if Germany refuses to sign, the League of Nations is dead. Therefore it all depends upon President Wilson now whether or not the precious months lost in talk will prove the wrecking of the enterprise.

We are witnessing here the solving of one of the greatest ethical problems ever faced, and the testing of the political philosophy that good can come out of evil, or that the world may be redeemed by carnal weapons and the slaughter of millions. The entourage of the President is reported to be still very hopeful, but it is interesting that no one here any longer speaks of making the world safe for democracy, in view of the rapidity with which Bolshevism is making Europe highly unsafe for the kind of democracy we Americans have hitherto deemed best.

Men of all opinions in Paris are greatly concerned at the failure of the American press and public opinion to understand what the situation here is, and to realize that the world is changing as we watch week by week. We read the *Times*, the *Tribune*, and the *Post*, and marvel at the state of mind and the utterly different world which they represent. Perhaps we are too near and too discouraged to be able to judge. The unanimous opinion expressed yesterday, however, by a group of American officials (who have been reflecting the greatest credit upon their country by their labors here)

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is that there will be a sorry awakening for America when she realizes how far from the actual truth have been her conceptions of world conditions.

A few more shocks like the news from Hungary would cause a grave crisis here. It is not surprising that one hears talk of an early peace with Lenine and Trotzky on condition that they will promise that there shall be no more proselytizing either by insidious official propaganda or by force of arms. There is reason to believe that this might be acceptable to them on account of the terrible famine conditions now existing in Russia.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Foreign Correspondence

I. The Swiss Situation

Zurich, February 15

AT this distance one wonders whether the American public realizes what it means to Europe to have the signing of peace so long delayed. Switzerland, for instance, has suffered gravely by the war—the enormous expense of keeping so large a part of her army mobilized, the necessary food restriction, and the serious lack of clothing and coal. So long as the actual peace is deferred Switzerland must keep men on her frontiers, if only because of the thousands of interned invalid prisoners. The prisoners from the Allied countries have been returned, but soldiers of the Central powers are still carefully guarded. If the interned could be sent home, it would help in the distribution of food. Rations of bread, cheese, sugar, fats, and milk are still carefully apportioned, and it is expected that there will soon be two or three meatless days a week. The Swiss obey the food laws exactly. You cannot cross the boundary until you have shown your passport and then you receive your first food tickets. When leaving the country you must turn in what tickets you have left; if you have been giving coupons away you are fined on the spot. This makes endless work for a sorely-tried but very efficient Government.

Despite the fact that Switzerland is so harassed by her economic conditions, she is already seeking new ways in which to help suffering humanity. She has been a great international post-office for all nations; she has made room for thousands of sick and wounded, many of whom she has harbored at cost, or less than cost; and she has been a refuge for political exiles of all the countries. Now she is seeking particularly to aid the starving city of Vienna. A report lies before me, of the distribution of the Swiss supplies in that stricken city. The poverty is beyond words; the lack of food and under-nourishment—especially among children—is heartrending. According to this report and that of the British Red Cross, 500,000 families go daily to the free kitchens of the municipal Red Cross.

Beyond Switzerland are nations begging for a settlement of their fate. Thus the German Austrians and Bohemians, left unattached by the collapse of Austria-Hungary, are most eager to unite with Germany. Bohemian Germany is overrun by the Czechs, who lay claim to the most important parts. Every day's delay at Paris adds to the disorder and discouragement. The same is true of Hungary, where the Slovaks are showing an imperialistic earth hunger. Holland, like Switzerland, has performed many helpful offices for all the warring nations. She, too, ardently needs the relief that peace will bring, including the return of the rest of her shipping that was "borrowed" by the Allies against her will. From Belgium there is reported such utter prostration and such difficulty in getting people to work again that the task of reconstruction seems almost appalling. There must be unrestricted railroad communication as soon as possible as the first step. At present there is only one train a day from Paris to Brussels, and it is an all-day run, though before the war it took only five hours. Little Luxembourg, too, awaits her fate. Shall she revert to her former status or be joined to France or Belgium? There is still an uncomfortable ferment which has led to one change of rulers since the armistice and may lead to another.

The Allies face an extremely difficult problem in hastening the peace. If they make a quick peace there will be a tremendous demand for the immediate discharge of large forces, which would be considered undesirable by labor circles on both sides of the ocean. All countries are now living under the fear of Bolshevism—even Switzerland has its Bolshevist menace.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

II. The Plight of Czecho-Slovakia

Prague, March 6

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA is gradually taking shape as a nation. It was not enough to cast aside the Austrian yoke, elect Professor Masaryk to the Presidency by acclamation, gather all the old revolutionaries into a Parliament, elect some of them for a Cabinet, and declare Czecho-Slovakia in existence. The economic reorganization of the country and the settlement of boundaries are the most pressing questions which the coming months must see answered if the State is to survive. In addition, the political basis of the nation must also be secured by general elections and the making of a final constitution.

Economically and industrially Czecho-Slovakia occupies the most favorable situation of any of the mid-European nations, despite the propinquity of an industrially invincible Germany. Its coal mines, iron ore, steel, glass, and textile factories, have been untouched by the hand of war. In peace times the Bohemians did much more manufacturing and exporting than the Austrians. Agriculturally, also, Slovakia is favored and will be practically self-sufficient in the matter of foodstuffs. Even now there is apparently a large amount of sugar on hand for export.

But the interregnum will be trying; the present food situation is most distressing. Until the next crop matures in August there will be little food available that is not imported. There is a shortage of everything except sugar. Bread may be had only once a day. Meat may be found in restaurants only by early arrivals. Chickory and burnt malt furnish the familiar mid-European variety of coffee. There are practically no fats, so that one is not surprised to find himself growing hungry an hour after what appeared to be a heavy meal. Bribery will afford one a slab of margarine for breakfast (butter there is none), which one eats, despite the taste, to fortify him for the day. One cannot dine for less than twenty kronen. Nominally this is five

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dollars; actually, owing to the depreciation of the currency, it amounts to about ninety cents. For foreigners who are lucky enough to have American or French money, living on kronen is cheap. The foreigner in Prague is much better off than his fellow in Paris. But the poor Czechs, who are still paid in kronen, have to live by kronen, and they are near starvation indeed. About thirty carloads a day of American food gets into the country—about one-fifth of what is needed to keep the masses from starving.

The clothing shortage is also keenly felt. Even the rich people find the shops entirely cleaned out. I tried to buy a hat yesterday; not wanting to look like a German tourist invading the Tyrol, I refrained from taking the only hat (at 100 kronen) that fitted me. Tomorrow I shall regret my fastidiousness. You cannot get anything made of leather; you cannot get any textiles. Yet if raw materials were provided, Czecho-Slovakia with her splendid factories would be in condition to supply herself with most of her pressing needs; and she would soon be in a position to export and begin paying her debts. The introduction of food and such raw materials as copper, wool, leather, and cotton should be hastened, for the country is faced with general unemployment. Unfortunately, the thin streak of rust stretching from Trieste to Bohemia, crippled by worn-out equipment and subject to interruption by the Italians, cannot supply the needs of Czecho-Slovakia. Another route, by way of the Elbe, should be opened.

Every day of underfeeding shakes people's confidence in their Government—wherefore the Government, intentionally or unintentionally, uses anti-German and anti-Semitic feeling as a lightning-conductor. This results in collisions between Czechs and Germans in northern Bohemia, and attacks on the Jews. Unfortunately for themselves, the Jews had to a great extent been in sympathy with Austria during the war, although there was a considerable minority that sided with the Czech revolutionaries. All Jews are now called pro-German, and the feeling against them is far deeper than that against the Germans. After the revolution there was much rioting and looting of Jewish homes in Moravia and Slovakia, and also in Bohemia. In Hollischau an actual pogrom took place in which two Jews lost their lives and many were wounded. In Prague at present the anti-Semitic tide runs very high. Life actually becomes difficult for the Jews. Minor acts of violence occur daily. The Government will neither employ Jews nor give them contracts. A society was formed recently for the boycotting of Germans and Jews in commercial fields. Anti-Semitism in Czecho-Slovakia is second only to that in Poland.

The Government has taken measures that are almost socialistic to meet the financial chaos which it inherited. Out of sixteen Ministers, five are said to be Socialists, Sokoup, Winter (a converted Jew), Strbny, Klofuc, and Haberman, the last four representing Social Welfare, Posts, War, and Education, respectively. The Food Minister, Vrbensky, is almost a Bolshevik, who was put to this work to prevent his upsetting the Government apple-cart. Rashin, Minister of Finance, and Svehela, of the Interior, are both bourgeois and anti-Semitic. The chief step taken so far has been the reduction by one-half of the paper currency inherited from Austria. During the current week the Government, having closed the borders, is stamping all the money presented within this week. Half of this money the Government retains, giving a receipt for it; the other half it stamps and returns to the owner. At the end of the week no unstamped money will be valid. Thus by confiscation one-half the paper currency vanishes. Will the stamped half still current double in value at once? We all have our doubts as to whether the krone next week will buy twice what it buys this week. Again the poor man may be made to suffer.

The next measure the Government has under consideration is a tax of seventy-five per cent. of all profits made during the war. These profits have already paid Austrian taxes. The third measure will probably be a tax on capital, which may run as high as twenty-five per cent. The fourth measure, which is already partly in force, concerns foreign stocks and bonds. Anybody holding foreign paper of any sort (even currency) must turn it in to the Government to be stamped. Later on, some form of confiscation will be enforced against this paper. All safe-deposit boxes have also been taken over. It is thought that these securities may be of use in paying for raw materials abroad. Fifthly and finally, there will be the repudiation, not only of Austria's war debt, but possibly also of the pre-war debt. The Germans and Jews will be particularly hard hit by this measure, as they control at least seventy-five per cent. of the capital and industry.

The Government may reorganize its finances by these measures if it does not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. The present expenditures of the Government must be enormous. Thousands of unemployed receive an allowance of from four to six kronen a day. The army (unemployment in another form) numbers more than a hundred thousand in Czecho-Slovakia alone, without counting the troops in France and Russia. The Russian and French Czechs are called the legionaries. They have been guilty of much of the Jew-baiting. They look strong and husky, but very rough. The legionaries from Russia, who still wear Russian uniforms, do not inspire one with great confidence in their desire to preserve order.

The question of national boundaries plays an enormously important part in the present situation. The decision of the Allied Military Commission, giving to Poland most of the Teschin district (which contains the only coking coal available to the Czech steel industries) raised a tremendous discontent here. It is said that if Kramarz comes back from Paris without Teschin the whole Government will fall with him. As a matter of fact, the Government feels itself none too strong. President Masaryk no longer appears to be the chief controller of governmental policy. If he were, this anti-Semitism would have been impossible. The sooner the Allies can settle the mid-European boundaries, the sooner will this Government know where it stands.

The race problem and the German menace will not be solved so speedily. The blame for evil conditions has not been fixed, but the Czechs have certainly made a bad start. No agreement was arrived at with the 3,000,000 Germans living along the northern rim of Bohemia. I am told that an agreement might at one time have been reached on the basis of local autonomy for the German section, or on the basis of minority representation. Instead, the flame of race hatred has been fanned by both sides, until yesterday, during the one-day protest strike in the German region, it burned with fatal heat between the soldiers and the German workers. The breach cannot now be bridged, nor can the wound be healed. Germany will now have a handle for the economic and political invasion of Czecho-Slovakia.

HENRY G. ALSBERG

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The New United States

VII. Where Labor Points the Way

Seattle, March 1

ON February 6, the date on which the general strike at Seattle began, a Boston newspaper printed a special dispatch from its Washington correspondent in which the coming strike was characterized as, "by common consent," a "test of strength between the forces of order and disorder, between radicalism and conservatism." "Labor Department officials" were said to feel that the situation at Seattle, coupled with others at Paterson, N. J., and elsewhere, "constitutes a crisis to the extent that if the Seattle general strike should succeed, the discontented elements will be emboldened to spread the propaganda of disorder which is the cornerstone of the I. W. W. organization." This propaganda of "lawless and base impulses," more likely to prey upon "the weakling and uneducated or unenlightened" than upon "the enlightened and cultured," the correspondent went on to identify with the "appallingly cruel and barbaric thing" known as Bolshevism; and an official of the Department of Labor was quoted as saying: "If Congress would make an appropriation of $100,000,000 to carry on needed public improvements at once, that body would serve the public interest by providing work for a vast number of men, and give the industries a chance to readjust themselves. If you provide work for everybody, you destroy Bolshevism."

It is doubtless true that if a general strike in so important a centre of organized labor as Seattle had succeeded, it would have greatly encouraged similar movements elsewhere. It is also probable that pure lawlessness, masquerading now as Bolshevism and now as a demand for political or economic reform, would have been stimulated. Wherever organized labor forcibly asserts what it regards as its rights, the example, whether a worthy one or not, is certain to stir the spirit of revolt elsewhere. On the other hand, if the Labor Department officials quoted meant to assert that the strike at Seattle was due directly to I. W. W. influence, or was identical with what is commonly called Bolshevism, or that industrial disturbances will cease "if you provide work for everybody," their remarks require explanation and their proposed remedy will not avail. If there is one sentiment more than another which the leaders of organized labor in the Seattle district are quick to repudiate, it is that of sympathy for the I. W. W.; while as for the panacea of "work for everybody," it is important to remember that there was plenty of work at Seattle, a large part of it under direct Government furtherance and guarantee, at the very time when the general strike was planned and carried out. It was not the fact that organized labor had allied itself with the I. W. W., nor yet the absence of work at living wages, that induced the metal workers to lay down their tools and the members of associated unions to strike in sympathy; it was rather a change in the workers' conception of their place in society, and their dissatisfaction with the conditions under which alone a living wage could be earned.

The charge that the labor unions of the Northwest, while maintaining separate organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are at heart sympathetic with the I. W. W. and permeated with its spirit, has been so often sweepingly made and emphatically denied, that the actual relations between the two bodies and their feelings toward one another are worth making clear. As told to me by representatives of organized labor at Seattle, and corroborated, with unimportant variations of incident, by labor leaders at Vancouver, the story runs as follows: When, a few years ago, organized labor in Washington undertook to extend union organization to the lumber camps, where the members of the I. W. W. were then principally to be found, hoping also thereby to aid in remedying the indescribable abuses in wages and living conditions which widely prevailed, they encountered an insuperable obstacle in the migratory character of the workers. Lumbering is a seasonal occupation, and, like other relatively unskilled seasonal industries in the Western and Northwestern States, it draws its labor mainly from the South. The stream of migratory workers which, starting in the wheat and fruit and nut-growing sections of California, flows northward as the summer advances, deposits its flotsam and jetsam in the lumber camps of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, there to be reinforced by the tramps and petty criminals who, tarrying too long in town or city *en route*, have been offered by the police courts the alternative of a lumber camp or six months in jail. The formation of stable unions among this ill-assorted mass of floating, drifting, homeless labor, here this month and "on the road" the next, proved too much for the powers of organized labor; and after a really serious effort to cope with the situation the undertaking was abandoned. Then came the I. W. W., and entered into the land and possessed it.

There for a time the matter rested. The State or Provincial Federations of Labor and the I. W. W. occupied separate fields, and neither trespassed particularly upon the other. When, in 1917, the State of Washington attempted to root out the I. W. W. by court proceedings, many labor organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, recognizing the proceedings as involving the right of free speech and of defence against criminal prosecution for organized acts, extended to the I. W. W. both moral and financial support, not in recognition of the organization but in recognition of its members as workers and men. Once the trials were successfully out of the way, however, the I. W. W. exerted itself to increase the number of its own local branches, thereby creating a duplicate organization in a field which union labor regarded as properly its own. With the adoption of that policy, friendly relations between the two organizations ended. On May 16, 1917, the Central Labor Council of Seattle, by formal resolution, called upon its affiliated unions to debar their members from holding membership in any dual organization, and refused to sanction appeals to the unions from I. W. W. representatives for either moral or financial aid.

Such, in bare outline, is the story as organized labor tells it. Ask a union labor man in Seattle or Vancouver what he thinks of the I. W. W., and you are pretty certain to receive an impression of open and even bitter hostility. Ask him if the I. W. W. was responsible for the strike, and the suggestion will be promptly spurned. A leading official of the Seattle Longshoremen's Union with whom I talked expressed hearty approval of the recent I. W. W. deportations, and only regretted that the Government, by raiding and closing I. W. W. meeting-places, had driven some members, or re-

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puted members, who were also members of the Longshoremen's Union to the rooms of the latter organization, where they spread their doctrines and strove to foment disaffection.

True as the foregoing explanation presumptively is as a statement of fact, I am nevertheless constrained to believe that it is very far from being the whole story. It may very well be that between the Washington State Federation of Labor or the British Columbia Federation of Labor and the I. W. W. there is neither recognized coöperation nor secret alliance; and it is certainly true that neither of the first two bodies named stands for the attainment of its ends by methods of lawless violence. Yet the times have brought about an essential community of interest which is not to be ignored. Organized labor and the I. W. W. are alike committed to acceptance of the principle of "direct action," the only really essential difference being that while, with the I. W. W., direct action is the only method advocated for the redress of grievances, with organized labor direct action is one method among several. With each, the approved method of direct action is the strike: immediate and exclusive if the workers are of the I. W. W.; ultimate or contingent, and with education and political action as hopeful alternatives, if the aggrieved workers are of the ranks of union labor; but the strike in either case. It would have been hard to convince anyone who lived in Seattle from February 6 to 10 that labor had not "acted," or that its "action" was not "direct."

What can be said for organized labor in the Seattle and Vancouver districts is that while it tends more and more, and with fateful rapidity, to agreement with the I. W. W. in its desire for a new social order in which labor shall enjoy complete control, it nevertheless is seriously trying to break the shock of change. To this end it has begun to employ one powerful instrument and is about to employ another. The first is education. The reconstruction programme and declaration of principles formulated by a reconstruction conference of the Washington State Federation of Labor at Seattle on December 15, is one of the most remarkable documents in the history of the American labor movement. Radical and far-reaching as the programme is, however, its appeal is declared to be "to every thinking man and woman," its remedies are commended as "reasonable, effective, and necessary," and its methods of "intensive organization, closer affiliation, education, and reconstruction" are designed "to make the world safe for democracy." The wide circulation of this reconstruction programme and its discussion by local unions and the press are turning Washington into a classroom, with the State Federation of Labor as the textbook writer and the teacher. By direction of the Aberdeen convention of the Federation, in 1918, the reconstruction programme of the British Labor party has also been printed in pamphlet form and scattered broadcast. At least two bookshops in Seattle carry and display stocks of books, magazines, and pamphlets on social, economic, and political subjects which would do credit to any New York dealer, and large and increasing sales are reported in each case. One may not affirm that in all this the rank and file of labor is abreast of its leaders; indeed, the calling off of the general strike showed that much educational work has yet to be done before the workers as a whole, if they desire working-class control, can envisage their task and persevere. But the fact remains that the process of education through books and discussion is going on increasingly, and that the way of social change is being thereby prepared.

The second instrument, and the one which the I. W. W. most uncompromisingly rejects, is political action. Whether or not organized labor shall "go into politics" is, indeed, a bone of contention in union circles throughout the Pacific Northwest, but the trend is clear. The labor leaders with whom I talked were practically unanimous in their opinion that unless labor, as labor, was represented in legislative councils, the reforms to which labor is committed could not be attained. Here the State and local leaders split with Mr. Gompers and the American Federation, and the breach is widening. Mr. Gompers could not count upon a cordial reception were he to essay an address before a labor audience at Seattle, and he would be almost certain of a hostile reception at Vancouver. What restrains the labor rank and file, who are not yet fully in sympathy with their leaders in regard to political action, is partly the traditional opposition of American organized labor to direct participation in politics, and partly a feeling that such action under existing constitutional and political conditions would be too slow in bringing about desired changes. The divergence of view is important. While the majority of the leaders, supported by what appears to be a strong and influential element in the unions, advocates the organization of a labor party, another appreciable element looks with favor upon the methods of the Nonpartisan League. It is the latter group, reflecting most clearly the I. W. W. influence and inclining to a rejection of all party action, that is most open to the influence of the Soviet idea and most clamorous for the entire control of society by the workers.

And what is the response of Government, State or Federal, and of business and the "classes," to this ferment among the workers? As a whole, it is pitiful in its helplessness and vacuity. Legislative tinkering with the labor laws; land reclamation bills to give employment to returned soldiers; creation of a Veterans' Welfare Commission with $500,000 to spend in "meeting conditions as they arise"; bills to punish "criminal syndicalism," and to create a fund of $100,000 to be used by the Governor "in preventing and suppressing insurrection and rioting," protecting life and property in "emergencies," and furnishing food relief where needed; bills to punish aliens who urge or advise a strike, to prohibit the employment on public works of aliens who claimed exemption from military service on that account during the war, and to require members of unions to vote on a proposal to strike before a strike is called; and a conference of "prominent men and women of the Northwest," at Spokane, to draw up "articles of patriotism to guide and arm the American citizen against any form of revolutionary spirit that might arise"—such is the jumble of palliatives of which the Washington press makes chronicle from day to day. When President Suzzallo, of the University of Washington, told a "victory conference" of Rotary Clubs at Portland, Oregon, on February 21, that the idea of revolution, fed by Marxian literature in Germany and Bolshevist literature in Russia, had no place in the United States because "conditions in America are not at all like conditions in either of those countries," and that while conflict between employers and employees existed, and "there is some conflict of interest in this country over the matter of division of profits," nevertheless "small differences may be settled by commissions representing both sides and the large differences may be settled by public authority," the audience applauded and cheered; while the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, commenting on the address, closed an approving editorial with the hoary reminder that "here the millionaire of today is the laborer of yesterday, and the rail-splitter

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works his way to the Presidency of the United States."

So stands the Pacific Northwest, facing the new time. On the one side, profound and ineradicable discontent, not merely with the incidents of daily life and occupation, but with the fundamental order of things; on the other, unenlightened proposals of this or that, backed by the firm determination of powerful business interests to dam back the tide. If the wise counsels of the saving remnant of employers and professional men, Government officials, and labor leaders, who understand the nature of the discontent and do not fear the changes required to remove it, shall prevail, the district may be spared another violent outbreak of the class struggle which President Suzzallo thinks so out of place; but if not, the clash will come, and the utmost efforts of organized labor may not avail even to break the shock.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

Napoleon as Propagandist

By HENDRIK VAN LOON

OUR recent Committee on Public Information hired a trained journalist to keep the world informed of what we did. Napoleon knew better. He was his own propagandist and assumed all the duties and responsibilities which we have delegated to a committee. But what a sad failure! At the beginning of his career he made no attempt to hide his intentions. "A Sovereign," he stated "must confiscate public opinion and use it to his own advantage." Twenty years later, an exile on St. Helena, he dictated a few sad words of commentary: "My son will be obliged to rule with the help of a free press." Whatever his original ideas upon the subject, the great Emperor could not put them into practice until he had been appointed commanding general of the French armies in Italy in the year 1796. It was a time when freedom of the press ran riot in revolutionary France. Delivered from the restrictive laws of the old régime, every political party, every political leader, printed a little news-sheet of its own. Papers were born overnight to disappear again with a new turn of the fast-revolving Jacobin wheel. Every great political upheaval has been followed by a flood of printer's ink, and the French Revolution was no exception.

Napoleon wrote often to the Directors and asked that steps be taken to protect his reputation. The Paris press, so he argued, was helping the Austrians and the Sardinians, and something must be done to counteract this evil influence. He suggested the foundation of an official newspaper, reflecting the opinions of the French Government. The Directors listened patiently, failed to answer the letters of their commander-in-chief, and did nothing, until General Napoleon, in despair, began to print his own newspapers. In the year 1797 the *Courrier de l'armée d'Italie* appeared in Milan. A few weeks later it was followed by *La France vue de l'armée d'Italie.* Both papers were edited by trained editors who had been requested to leave Paris for Napoleon's headquarters. They were allowed to do the routine work. The actual editorial policy was dictated by Napoleon himself, and not a word was printed until it had been submitted to the generalissimo, who wielded the blue-pencil with great dexterity. The next year Napoleon transferred the scene of his activities to Egypt. As soon as he reached the shores of the Nile, the *Courrier d'Egypte* appeared, printed in Cairo, originally in the French language, but soon folowed by editions in Arabic for the benefit of the native, who must be impressed by the glory and fame of the foreign conqueror. From that moment on Napoleon is master of the printed word in his adopted country. After the *coup d'état* of XVIII Brumaire the freedom of the press was a dead issue in France. On the seventeenth of January of the year 1800 Napoleon restricted the number of newspapers that were to be printed in France to exactly thirteen. The others were suspended for an indefinite period of time. The Minister of Police was appointed guardian of the printed page and no news was to be made public that might in any way be detrimental to the safety of the Government. Immediate suppression was the punishment that followed a breach of this strict rule.

Not contented with his fame on the field of battle the great general fought his quarrels on paper and concentrated his efforts upon a single sheet, the *Moniteur.* This journal was not a new enterprise. It had made its first appearance early in the year 1789 as an independent newspaper. After 1801 it became the defender and expounder of the Napoleonic theories of government and administration. It printed the official decrees and the official announcements and was to be found on the table of every Imperial office-holder. When a serious question was before the public, Napoleon himself wrote or dictated editorials and articles. As a source of inspired information the paper was never surpassed, not even by the kept press of Bismarck. The entire quarrel between France and England is reflected in the articles of the *Moniteur,* which answered every sneering attack of the London *Times* with the acerbity of one of our modern newspaper quarrels.

A little later the ruler of the French found himself in a bitter fight with the French cardinals and finally with the Pope. Then he started a publication strictly for home consumption, the *Bulletin de Paris,* followed shortly afterwards by the *Journal des Curés* which first appeared at the precise moment when all other clerical journals were suppressed.

Wherever the Emperor went he was followed by copies of his inspired newspapers. When the snow of the Russian plains and the tenacity of the Russian armies had turned his glorious Moscow campaign into complete failure, he hastened back to Poland and from Wilna and Warsaw tried to influence French public opinion by short and crisp notes, telling of his plans for the future and lying gloriously about the actual conditions of the present. Not until he had left French soil did his activity as a newspaper man cease. And when he returned from Elba he resumed his work as unofficial editor-in-chief of the old *Moniteur.* For one hundred days Europe was obliged to read this official organ if it wished to know what the hated Corsican had to say upon all subjects from war to the administration of museums and the final destiny of conquered pr vinces.

The suppression of news was maintained at all hazard, but even Fouché and his spies could not prevent the ultimate spread of the truth. And two days before his death (May 3, 1821) Napoleon confessed that he had been wrong. "I tried to give France liberal ideas, but I failed. In the beginning I felt that I was obliged to suppress news. Afterwards it was too late"—a commentary which ought to have served as a warning to all who have since flattered the French Emperor by an imitation of his most unsuccessful and disastrous methods.

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The Tea Ships

By THOMAS J. MURRAY

Their canvas flared across the China Sea,
  Back in the misty Forties ere the steam
And plate steel from the Tyne swept every lea,
  Crowding the sail to yards where they might dream
Of vanished greatness when the seas would cream
  Across their surging prows on washing lanes;
And o'er the waste to catch Nantucket's gleam—
  Canton to Boston with their golden gains.

Days were remembered when their canvas snowed
  The tossing stretches on their western drive;
No thoughts of coming years that would corrode
  Sailor and timber, when the will to strive
Sinks with the passing days and on some beach
  Both watch the thrilling years sweep from their reach.

In the Driftway

THESE be emphatically the days of things denatured. Doubtless the time will soon come when we shall perforce resign ourselves to getting such solace as we can out of ginger pop nd cubebs. In the meantime, we hardly realize how life in all its departments is being gradually robbed of its punch. Only the other day the Drifter came across a century-old collection of hymns—hymns that were written when theology was still racy with a hell, and its poetry harked back past the Sermon on the Mount to the Psalms of David. The book contains nothing comparable from a literary point of view to the celebrated Scotch rsion:

How happy shall the soldier be
  Who, riding on his naggie,
Shall take your little children up
  And dash them on the craggie.

Though in spirit the following is vigorous enough:

Hell is that woeful, dreadful place
Where Jesus never shows his face,
Where sinners damned with devils remain
In hopeless horror, endless pain.

While hell has been banished from the church, the classics seem in a fair way to depart from Academe. What the exact arrangement for the denatured degree in Arts is henceforth to be we do not know, but the idea seems to be that hereafter a Bachelor of Arts will be one who is versed in almost anything except the humanities—just at present perhaps the commonest qualification will be an approved ability to rip his fellow man up the middle with a bayonet. Politics have been becoming gradually denatured ever since Chamberlain invented the Liberal-Unionist party in England. And now along comes the Nonpartisan to finish th process. Our beer is already denatured, and we are told that after July 1 all our other tipple will go the same way. Incidentally they have denatured the harmless, necessary clock.

* * * * *

THE Drifter makes such a practice of haunting second-hand bookstores, that sometimes they retaliate and haunt him. On such a night of retribution the Drifter beheld two mysterious little note books within his reach. One had a most curious smell about its loose asbestos leaves. The first page was headed "Recipes." (Suppertime was long past and the Drifter read hungrily.) Under this was written in red ink (like the word "enforce" in the original leaflets of the League to Enforce Peace) the title:

REVOLUCION CON CARNE

Select carefully a dozen or more organizers, the bitterer the better. Use only such as show a strong magnetic quality; the narrowest are the best. After braying in a mortar in a strong light, shut up in a close oven till thoroughly heated through. Served as martyrs these will prove highly effective. Excellent for stopping all assimilative processes and for preventing coolness and in general for purposes of stimulation.

The Drifter blew on his singed thumb as he dropped the first book into the ash-tray and reached warily for the second. This was a neat gold-cut volume with a metal clasp stamped with the Bremen key. On the first page was written in the forgotten hand of the German *Backfisch*:

So machen wir's in Bremen
Und so wird's gemacht.

This had been crossed out with a relentless pen and below was written in Americanized characters:

WHAT I DID FOR MY ADOPTED COUNTRY

March 5. As soon as I heard that Beethoven's Eroica was going to be given again I took a train for Albany to see the Governor. All this talk of Beethoven having been a Fleming is nonsense. He was a German of the Germans. Besides he was a traitor for he dedicated his symphony to Napoleon and a man who can flatter his country's enemy in this way is capable of anything.

March 7. Thank Heaven, Muck is in jail and a French conductor cut out of good, patriotic wood has taken his place. Schumann, Schubert, and Brahms have been taken off the Boston programme. In a few more weeks I will go after Bach and all his foreign camouflage of chacones and bourrées and fugues.

March 8. The third oboe player in the Cincinnati Orchestra is a man by the name of Ole Oleriks. I had the Department of Justice investigate him. He has papers which prove that he is a Dane and that his great-grandfather came to this country about a hundred years ago when some one (the Germans, of course) had bombarded his town and killed his family. All the same Oleriks sounds too much like a German name and one cannot be too careful these days. I had him discharged. He asked what was to become of his wife and children. I said that I did not know but that he ought to be willing to make some sacrifices for his country if he were really a hundred per cent. American. He said that he was but his bank account was not. These impudent foreigners!

March 9. I hear that the San Francisco orchestra uses trombones made of German silver. That was to be expected after the Bernstorff gold. Have telegraphed the Defence Society of San Francisco to look into these trombones.

THE DRIFTER

Contributors to this Issue

JACQUES W. REDWAY, one of the leading American authorities on physical and commercial geography, is the author of numerous standard works on that subject.

FREDERICK TUPPER, a frequent contributor to the *Nation*, is professor of English in the University of Vermont.

HENDRIK VAN LOON was formerly lecturer in modern European history in Cornell University.

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Correspondence

En Avant

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Nowadays on opening one's *Nation* each week one is conscious of an expectation that did not exist a few months ago. The first feeling of astonishment has given place to a sustained interest. What is this that has happened to the *Nation* and continues to develop apace?

No longer do we read academic discussions on such desiccated subjects as the split infinitive in Shakespeare. A growing interest in and toleration of so-called radicalism has become obvious to the most casual reader, until we find open sympathy for, if not espousal of, advanced Socialism, Anarchism, and even Bolshevism—and the end is not yet.

This that is happening to the *Nation* is evidently that which is transforming many of us as individuals. We are becoming aware that we are to live in a world of new conditions, one in which the older order not only changeth but may well disappear altogether. Even here in the heart of traditional conservatism, the home of the Puritan and Henry Cabot Lodge, we are no longer immune from the wind that knows no barriers but sweeps from zone to zone.

Stevenson has said that "to travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive," and surely there has never been a time in the history of the world when a forward-looking spirit was more needed.

W. M. STONE

Waltham, Mass., March 29

The Shop Stewards

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A shop steward in Paisley told me that eight unions were represented in his shop, and in order to negotiate about a grievance affecting all the men in the shop it had formerly been necessary to appeal to eight different Union heads in London. Months might elapse before action followed appeal. This cumbersome machinery, he claimed, had now been done away with. Each shop steward—or, in the event of a serious difference, the Central Glasgow Committee—could negotiate directly with the Masters and obtain quick action.

At any rate, during the war even the union executives at London recognized the ability of this new labor body and let it do much of the negotiating with the Government and employers on behalf of the men. It therefore seems the height of false comedy for the British press now to cry out, as it does, that the shop stewards' movement is unauthorized and anarchical.

H. G. A.

Glasgow, January 26

"La Marseillaise de la Paix"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Professor Dargan's admirable article on Lamartine in your issue of February 15 recalls an important episode of the poet's humanitarian dreams—"La Marseillaise de la Paix" (1841), the poem in which Lamartine replied to Becker's challenge: "Der deutsche Rhein" (1840). Thanks to two recent studies, Ernest Babelon's "Le Rhin à travers l'Histoire" and Philippe Sagnac's "Le Rhin français," we now know the truth about this disputed river. The fact that French and American soldiers are at present "standing guard on the *German* Rhine" adds timely interest to the subject.

Unlike Musset, whose immortal little poem, composed on this same occasion, breathes the spirit of Gallic defiance, Lamartine was naïvely pacific. Whereas the one poet wrote jeeringly: "Nous l'avons eu, votre Rhin allemand: il a tenu dans notre verre," the other exclaimed with enthusiastic admiration: "Vivent les nobles fils de la grave Allemagne!" Not only was Lamartine "too proud to fight," but his poetic fancy foresaw the traditional reign of jealous rivalry among nations converted into a millennium of international brotherhood. France would placate her insolent neighbor and so conjure away future war clouds like that of 1840.

As mediator between the two nations the poet invokes the noble, disinterested Rhine:

> "Roule libre et superbe entre tes larges rives,
> Rhin! Nil de l'Occident, fleuve des nations!
> Et des peuples assis qui boivent tes eaux vives
> Emporte les défis et les ambitions!"

Ten times, in a similar refrain, the majestic stream is besought to carry away on its silvery waves the discord and threats of its border peoples. What folly to quarrel over boundaries! Do we see any trace of national frontiers in the heavens? States, the poet goes on to say, is but a pompous word for barbarism. Hate and selfishness [*égoïsme*] alone are national; fraternity knows no boundaries. "Je suis concitoyen de toute âme qui pense; la Vérité, c'est mon pays!" Like Malherbe and Leibnitz, he would have France colonize Egypt and similar sparsely inhabited countries. The world, with its unlimited commercial opportunities, contains ample room for all.

Throughout the poem Lamartine pleads in sonorous flights of imaginative verse. Scarcely was his wooing of fair Teutonia equalled afterwards by such Germanophiles as Victor Hugo and Renan. Had all his poetry been so fraternal in spirit, even orthodox socialists like Proudhon, Jaurès, and Anatole France would probably admit him to full fellowship. Indeed, a French royalist critic once declared that "La Marseillaise de la Paix" was more pernicious than Eugène Pottier's "Internationale." But already in the February Revolution Lamartine's utopian dreams received a rude shock. Had he lived during the "terrible year" or the Moroccan crises, to say nothing of the world war, the "noble sons of grave Germany" would have dissipated his fondest illusions.

WILLIAM H. SCHEIFLEY

Indiana University, March 24

Vain Waiting

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Possibly your readers may be interested in the following letter.

FRANZ BOAS

Grantwood, N. J., March 4

"Mr. Franz Sigel,
President of 'Friends of German Democracy,'
32 Union Square, New York City.

"DEAR SIR:

"For weeks I have listened in vain, waiting to hear the voice of the Friends of German Democracy raised on behalf of the new Germany. I have been expecting to hear your orators and to read your messages, awakening America to the consciousness of the fact that German Democracy is being starved to death by a blockade maintained against all laws of humanity. I have waited to hear you remind our countrymen that the war was fought against the past German Government, not against the German people; that the sudden demobilization of millions of soldiers must lead to incredible suffering, unless the resumption of industrial work is made possible by the importation of raw materials. You know that Germany cannot much longer subsist without supplies and that without these death and ruin are unavoidable. You are aware that the raising of the blockade is deferred only by the failure of the Powers to agree on the payment that they want to exact from the hungry for the permission to buy food.

"You have constituted yourselves helpers of the new-born German Democracy. If ever help was needed, it is needed now! Then how can your conscience be aroused to the fulfilment of your self-imposed duties? It is only necessary to make it clear to our

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people that permission to buy food and clothing for the needy, for women and children, is all that is needed, to be sure of a quick and generous response that will compel the bickering politicians to come to a speedy agreement. Show yourselves what you claim to be and give help to those as whose friends you proclaim yourselves. FRANZ BOAS

"Grantwood, N. J., March 4"

Mark Twain and the "Gesta Romanorum"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The story from the "Gesta Romanorum" which Mr. Woodbridge traces in Mark Twain's "Mysterious Stranger" (see the *Nation* for March 22) is considerably older than the date of that mediæval fable-collection would imply. It is found in the Koran (XVIII, 64-81), and is undoubtedly borrowed from a much older Jewish source. The variations of the story, which is found in many literatures, are numerous. The sources and parallels of the story of the angel and the hermit are elaborately discussed by Israel Lévy in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, VIII, 64-73, 202-205, and XLVIII, 275-277. See also the article by S. Krauss in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, II, 339ff., and the writer's note, *ibidem* III, 179f.

I. FRIEDLAENDER

New York, March 31

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Woodbridge's recent *Nation* article on "Mark Twain and the Gesta Romanorum," interesting and stimulating as it is, leaves untouched some aspects of the question it discusses. Mr. Woodbridge has evidently overlooked the best version of the angel and hermit tale (from a purely literary viewpoint, at least) previous to that of Mark Twain's. The twentieth chapter of Voltaire's "Zadig, ou la Destinée" is a reworking of the old tale, told in Voltaire's best style and with a witty brevity which makes it, in my opinion, decidedly superior to Mark Twain's long-winded narrative. Moreover, the earliest form of the story is not that of the "Gesta Romanorum," which goes back in its turn to several earlier versions, of which the most ancient in point of time is that found in the "Vitae Patrum" of the seventh century or thereabouts. For a charming and fairly exhaustive study of the history of the tale, the reader should consult the paper by Gaston Paris, "L'Ange et l'Ermite," published in the first series of "La Poésie du moyen âge," pp. 151-187.

WILLIAM P. SHEPARD

Hamilton College, March 29

The League of Nations and Asia

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In theory the covenant of the league of nations opens out a new era of internationalism. How far the theory shall be put into practice is yet to be seen. So far, however, the chief defect of the scheme lies in the omission to make any provision for those parts of the world which the five greater powers are holding in subjection. While the mandatory system has been devised to safeguard the future of the territory conquered from Germany and Turkey in this war, no such provision has been made for India, Egypt, and Ireland, held by Great Britain; Indo-China, Morocco, Tunis, and Algeria, by France; Tripoli, by Italy; Korea, by Japan and the Philippines, by the United States.

What do the parties to the covenant of the league of nations propose to do with these peoples? Are they to be held in perpetual subjection? Does the league guarantee the perpetual and peaceful possession of these territories by the Powers that hold them now? If that is what is contemplated then the league of nations may fitly be termed a league for the perpetuation of these empires, with a free license to them to rule their dependencies as they like. If not, why does not the constitution of the league make any provision for their future on similar lines to those which it lays down for the territories covered by the mandatory clause?

What about Persia, Afghanistan, the various principalities of Central Asia, Thibet, and Siam? Are these to be absorbed by the Powers comprised in the league, or is their independence to be guaranteed? It appears that the league is at present only concerned with such distribution of the spoils of war as are calculated to prevent disunion among the Allies. The constitution of the league as proposed indirectly gives them a free charter to conquer and incorporate the rest of the world so long as they do not contemplate war with one another. Is that what is meant by world peace? Such a perpetuation of empires is an unnatural monstrosity against which the best minds of the world should enter an emphatic protest. Instead of that we find a desire to support the league for that very reason. It guarantees the signatories all they have now, and gives them sufficient latitude to add to their dominions in future. Under the circumstances, the Asiatics can only look at this league with horror and distrust.

LAJPAT RAI

New York, March 20

Organized Charity

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The first paragraph of the article first featured on the cover of this week's *Nation* says that "the Charity Organization Society attempts to balance mercy precisely against deserts; and warm-blooded humanity suspects that kind of moral bookkeeping as a chilly process."

As secretary of the oldest charity organization society in America, and as perhaps the oldest secretary in America in length of service, may I say emphatically that organized charity makes no such attempt? It stands for full mercy to all, regardless of deserts, it taboos the word "unworthy" as a word unworthy of use, and it stands for adequate relief always, regardless of merit; and all this it practices as well as preaches. But it knows also from experience that the most adequate relief is often not the giving of money but the giving of time and care, and that the thing "deserved" by the poor as well as the thing needed by them is often correction.

Organized charity is organized love; it is love with judgment. It tries to keep a hard head with a soft heart. Soft-headed charity has done more harm than good. FREDERIC ALMY

Buffalo, March 15

Soldiers A-Plenty

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Perhaps Mr. Hunter would like to add the following to the figures in his satiric letter on "No Demobilization": Egypt, 500,000 soldiers; Korea, 1,000,000 soldiers; United States (industrial cities), 2,000,000. The main difficulty, however, with a policy of this sort is in keeping tab on the revolutionary countries. At the present rate of speed we might conceivably have to mobilize our entire adult population in this attempt to sit on the lid. T. T. H.

New York, April 1

A French Farewell

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Since the publication of "The Stimulus of the Vieux Colombier" in the *Nation* of March 29, the French artists have been persuaded to give a final performance of La Fontaine's "La Coupe Enchantée," on Monday, April 7, to be followed by one of M. Copeau's inimitable impromptu scenes. M. M.

New York, March 31

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Literature

Swinburne's Letters

The Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne. Edited by Edmund Gosse, C.B., and Thomas James Wise. New York: John Lane Company. $5.

MOST of Swinburne's correspondence is now published: the letters to his family, edited by Mrs. Leith; those to Rossetti, Watts-Dunton, and a few other people, edited by Hake and Compton-Rickett; and now this admirably edited collection which comprises the great mass of his letters. No letters to Hugo or Mazzini have yet been discovered, and one misses the names of several of Swinburne's close friends. William Morris, to whom he must have written often in early years, is represented by two brief late epistles; W. M. Rossetti by but one; Burne-Jones is known to have destroyed nearly all the letters he received from Swinburne. Mr. Gosse refers in his Introduction to various collections of letters not yet available for publication. One section of Swinburne's correspondence has evidently, and probably wisely, been suppressed. The omission of almost all letters from Mr. Gosse's "Life of Swinburne" kept that book within reasonable compass and assisted in the happy artistry of its narrative; but these two volumes require a rereading of the "Life" along with them if they are to be comprehended, for the many gaps in the series and the many allusions to the poet's personal affairs demand more ample elucidation than is furnished by the somewhat meagre notes.

The Jekyll-and-Hyde process of analysis is constantly being applied to the character of artists, as though in them only were compounded the spirit and sense, "dust and deity," that in reality go into the making of our common human nature. The truth that underlies this false emphasis is that in the artist's temperament the distinction between the two sides of man's personality is likely to be specially marked. Of this there is no more excellent instance than Swinburne. The correspondence presents in the main the later aspect of the poet's character. One finds the legendary Swinburne in the account of how he and Stanhope took opposite sides in a debate on Swinburne's idea of heaven as "a rose-garden full of stunners," to the horror of some Oxford dons who chanced in upon them; in the hilarious letter to Burton on the disturbance aroused among the Philistines by "Poems and Ballads"; and in the impish glee with which he announces: "Since writing the above I have added ten verses to 'Dolores'—très-infâmes et très-bien tournés. 'Oh! Monsieur, peut-on prendre du plaisir à de telles horreurs?'" But he is capable of a manly protest when Lord Houghton accuses him of intemperance on an important occasion. At a much later date he expresses anxiety lest an unscrupulous publisher issue some of his letters of an indiscreet sort: "We shrink, and that reasonably," he writes, "from the notion that all our private papers, thrown off in moments of chaff or Rabelaisian exchange of burlesque correspondence between friends who understand the fun, and have the watchword, as it were, under which a jest passes and circulates in the right quarter, should ever be liable to the inspection of common or unfriendly eyes." And there is pathetic dignity in the protest to Mr. Gosse against the atrocious action of Simeon Solomon, who had once been Swinburne's friend but who had undergone moral catastrophe, in raising money by the sale of letters "which must contain much foolish burlesque and now regrettable nonsense." This Rabelaisianism developed into the curious Gampish humor and burlesque extravagance of some of the later letters.

Most of the letters are as different from "Anactoria" or "The Leper" as was the unrestrained associate of Burton and Howell from the gentleman who was the honored guest of Jowett and who wrote such affectionate letters to his mother. For the most part one finds an entire unawareness, but at times a quaint half-startled consciousness, of the doing of the vibrating genius that was the second personality inhabiting the same body with this English aristocrat. The contrast is often made between the flaming Swinburne of the sixties and the respectable little old man who dwelt at Putney of recent years. That the probability of such a development was inherent in him from his youth is made evident from the letters. It is the other self, the enraptured poet, that remains unaccounted for. Of the origin and ways of the inspired poet little is self-revealed. "I have no love of talking of my own or other men's personal or family matters," he writes; and he refuses to tell more of his intercourse with Landor than he has already made public in verse, "for there is nothing to tell except such things as cannot be told; slight personal matters, not the less precious that they must be private." Except for some Oxford reminiscences communicated to Mr. Wise, the only autobiographical letters of any note are those to Stedman, and these, being written to furnish material for the "Victorian Poets," have about them a certain magniloquence and self-conscious air that leave secret more of his personality than they condescend to divulge.

"The true life of a man is in his letters," Newman once remarked. Books are the "substantial world" in which Swinburne lived. His republicanism, his friendships, his love of nature, his own art, his naughtiness—all are secondary to his devotion to literature. The profit for us is an abundance of critical dicta of great worth. The sound judgment that usually underlay the hysterical exaggerations of his essays in criticism is unobscured in the letters by the intolerable vices and redundancies of his formal style. Note, for example, the following remarks upon "Beauchamp's Career":

"Full of beauty and power and fine truth as it is, what a noble book it might and should have been, if he would but have forgone his lust of epigram and habit of trying to tell a story by means of riddles that hardly excite the curiosity they are certain to baffle! By dint of revulsion from Trollope on this hand and Braddon on that, he seems to have persuaded himself that limpidity of style must mean shallowness, lucidity of narrative must imply triviality, and simplicity of direct interest or positive incident must involve 'sensationalism.' It is a constant irritation to see a man of such strong and subtle genius, such various and splendid forces of mind, do so much to justify the general neglect he provokes."

There are equally excellent things on Browning, on Emerson, on Omar, and many more; some criticisms, as in the abundant references to Landor, perhaps too generous in praise; others marred by prejudice; but generally well reasoned and impartial. As he grew older some of his youth's loyalties appealed less to him. He modifies his original exalted estimate of Rossetti's lyrics. The enthusiasm with which he read "Frederick the Great" contrasts strangely with the drastic comments which he made after Carlyle's death. In general, however, what he had once grappled to his heart he clung to always. He was ever ready in defence of Landor both as poet and as man. From the earlier seventies his thoughts centre more and more upon his beloved Elizabethans. The project of a "Dictionary of the English Drama," to be written in collaboration with several friends, long hovered in his head. He pleads with Mr. Bullen to quit wasting time upon Horace and to edit Davenport instead. Questions of textual emendation, priority of composition, and conjectural authorship are debated at a length that can interest only a specialist in the drama. But the reader who is not a specialist must at least be attracted by the zest that he put into his avocations—the same zest that went into his poetry.

Next to his books, his friends. No impression left by the letters is pleasanter than that of Swinburne's personal relations with his correspondents. By turns he is burlesque or familiar or sympathetic or serious, according to the question in hand and the relationship that he bears to the man whom he is addressing. Here, as in his essays, there is the constant desire to do honor to the illustrious dead, and to win reputation for the deserving who have missed their share of fame. He is eager to help living writers: relics of an earlier generation like Wells and Horne; younger men like the pathetic Marston and the sombre embittered Nichol. Though some names destined to become famous are conspicuous by their absence, in general the encouragement

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given to younger writers contradicts the tradition that he took no interest in the generation that followed his own. Of Tennyson, Browning, and Arnold he speaks often with a magnaminity of which they were incapable towards him. Instances of such generosity to contemporaries are not so common among men of letters as to be passed over unnoticed. He writes of his special happiness "if any verses of my writing may help to disprove the foul tradition of jealousy as natural among workers in our own or any other form of art." Noteworthy, too, is his delight in putting his time, knowledge, and rare volumes at the service of fellow-students. Swinburne was no prig. When customary sweet temper gave place to wrath he hit out lustily if often blindly. There is tedious extravagance in the quarrel with Furnivall, but the fantastic letter of April 6, 1877, in which he parodies his own vituperative style, lends weight to the testimony of common friends of the two men that both he and Furnivall enjoyed the fray. Cardinal Newman's reported deprecation of his influence inspires instantly an extraordinary attack upon certain aspects of Roman Catholicism in which the lack of entire seriousness is as apparent as the want of good taste. Once at least he could descend to virulent abuse, as in an unquotable sentence upon W. B. Scott, wisely expunged from the published text but discoverable in one of Mr. Wise's privately printed tracts. But there was no caddishness in the man. The scandal-lover will discover no snicker, no sneer, no choice gossip, no nasty innuendo. Boldly, if often unwisely, he spoke his mind in public, and the private letters of a controversial sort are less, not more, bitter than the attacks delivered in public.

A disappointment in the letters is the comparative paucity of references to the poet's own art. There is an occasional analysis of some new poem, notably of "The Last Oracle"; there are a few remarks upon his manner of work, as when he writes of the joyous rapidity with which "Atalanta" was composed, or of his study of "Antony and Cleopatra" to extract therefrom the secret of Shakespeare's method of handling large masses of historical material. Upon the great elegy, "Ave atque Vale," he puts a modest estimate. The advice that he seeks from Mallarmé regarding the prosody and vocabulary of some of his French poems makes all the more tantalizing the serene aloofness with which he goes about his work in his mother tongue. There are interesting allusions to various poems never completed or else destroyed. At Oxford he wrote part of a comedy in Fletcher's later manner, planned a tragedy on the Albigenses, and provoked Morris's adverse criticism of a "dramato-lyrico-phantas-magorico-spasmodic sermon on the grievous sin of flirtation," the outline of which shows that he came momentarily under the influence of mid-century "Spasmodics" whom about the same time he satirized. "Rudel in Paradise" must have been connected with a famous passage in "The Triumph of Time." In 1861 he planned a prose tale on his "blessedest pet" Lucrezia Borgia, a theme often in his mind, of which the only part that won final form is the fragmentary "Duke of Gandia," written about 1882 though not published till 1908. The ability to regard his own work humorously is seen in the vivacious epistles in which he makes arrangements for the publication of "A Year's Letters." Nor is he incapable of serious self-criticism; of the "Memorial Verses" on Gautier he writes: "The metrical effect is, I think, not bad, but the danger of such metres is diffuseness and flaccidity. I perceive this one to have a tendency to the dulcet and luscious form of verbosity which has to be guarded against, lest the poem lose its foothold and be swept off its legs, sense and all, down a flood of effeminate and monotonous music, or be lost and spilt in a maze of draggle-tailed melody."

From the author of "Songs before Sunrise," of which he wrote "My other books are books; that one is myself," one would have expected many letters upon political affairs; but though there are chance allusions now and then, there is no sign that his attention was ever long arrested by politics. This supports the contention that his political poems were derived rather from his personal devotion to certain men and the attraction for him of a few large amorphous political ideas than from any thoroughly sympathetic study of current affairs. Religion is hardly touched on save in the formal letters to Stedman. And except in the solitary letter to Watts-Dunton, the correspondence evinces no interest in nature. Of this subject the previously published letters to Watts-Dunton and many of those to his family (generally written in Watts-Dunton's company) are full. The absence of such themes elsewhere is additional proof in support of Mr. Gosse's statement that it was Watts-Dunton who, in Swinburne's later career, forced him into the poetry of nature-description—a subject for which his genius was not altogether suited. The natural sciences are a closed book to him, though there is no sign of that heart-sick scorn with which Gissing watched scientific "progress." Nor do the letters evince any concern for the terrible social problems confronting such fellow men-of-letters as Ruskin and Morris in Clerkenwell, Limehouse, and other parts of the London that was dear to Swinburne only for its historical, literary, and personal associations.

We have chosen to dwell on the bright side of the picture. It would be easy to be facetious at the expense of Swinburne's eccentricities. But after all, an unphilosophic irritation at adverse criticism, a certain eagerness to secure favorable reviewers, ever and anon a too great anxiety with regard to matters of payment for his poems, and very rarely a chance word of unkindness flung off in a moment of petulance, have little weight in the balance against the generosity, friendliness, enthusiasm, sincerity, and perennial youthfulness that are the outstanding characteristics of the portrait painted by the letters.

In one of his sonnets Baudelaire compares the poet to the albatross, whose mighty wings, formed to bear him through the abyss of air, impede his steps when upon the ground. The wonder is that Swinburne, this strange genius, fashioned for such flights of music into the tenuous upper air of thought, was able to walk for the most part so sedately, so serenely, with such kindly companionship, among common men.

The Real "Realpolitik"

Prussian Political Philosophy. By Westel W. Willoughby. New York: D. Appleton & Company. $1.50.

The German Myth. By Gustavus Myers. New York: Boni & Liveright. $1.

What Is the German Nation Dying For? By Karl Ludwig Krause. New York: Boni & Liveright. $1.50.

IT is the hazard of generalities and far-flung conceptions—such as a *Weltanschauung*—that they incline to glitter rather than illuminate; the dazzle may obscure the reality, and confuse the noble with the nebulous. Avoiding this danger, Professor Willoughby presents in sharp outlines the naked anatomy of the Prussian political philosophy, "its principles and implications" free from all sartorial embellishments. The plan is well executed, and is preceded by a similarly etched survey of American political ideals which will bring to many an American reader the unexpected discovery that he, too, carries on his life and his thinking with a political *Weltanschauung*, consisting not of a sensitiveness about Monroe doctrines but of plain truths for plain people: that Governments exist for the welfare of the governed and derive their authority from the just consent of the governed, that all men are equal before the law, that the individual's rights are sacred, and liberty an imperishable value. In shocking contrast to this conviction, the German *Weltanschauung* makes all the blacks white and all the whites black. The composition portrays the same subject; but the rendering is so alien and bizarre, so upsetting to the world's sense of truth and justice and morality, that it is with a wrench of the mind that *nous autres* are compelled to believe them real, to be what the Germans, the Prussians by priority of leadership, really and actually believe.

The evidence of belief is not, in this bearing, the policy of ruthlessness and violation in action, but the embodiment of the philosophy institutionally, in the working system of peaceful government. Deep in the foundation is imbedded the militaristic conception: that war renders a just decision and remains the

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instrument of struggle, that it scorns morality and erects the State into a super-being expanding at whatever cost. Having grown by conquest and the ignoring of scruple, with no great moments of struggle for freedom in its history, prone to find sanctions in grandiose theories buttressing the rough masonry of unsightly facts, the Prussian philosophy of the State alternates between the negation of the values cherished by the rest of the world and the claim of superior conformity to them. As Mr. Chesterton puts it, their alleged roads of progress are in reality routes of escape, devious and questionable to those of other temper and training. The same paradox inheres in the idealistic professions coupled with the exaltation of the ugly realities of self-seeking into glorified propagandist principles.

Professor Willoughby traces principles in the realization of practice. Of first consequence is the embodiment of the system in the person of the monarch. Absolutism is enthroned; the constitution follows at respectful distance, and is carefully nullified by offsetting the formal show of representation by the reservation of authority to those by interest and tradition bound to the aristocratic privilege. Much of this is the Prussian rather than the German way; and the Prussianising of Germany was admittedly an indispensable step in the programme and its undoing. No such bald policy could proceed in Western Europe in the twentieth century without encountering smouldering and occasionally blazing opposition. Concessions were indeed made, and though sterilized as far as the political technique could carry the process, yet left undisturbed the germs of protest and demand. The book contains a chapter by Professor W. J. Shepherd, tracing the several movements toward responsible government in Germany, which in the last revolutionary months have borne prodigious though as yet untested fruits. But no amount of political incorporation and social penetration would suffice to establish such a top-heavy if not monstrous view of the realities of public life; it required a persistent indoctrination to hammer the theories into the heads of the people, to chloroform resistance, and blunt the sensibilities. Propaganda was rampant at home and abroad. The church, the school, the university, industrial life—every channel of interest was polluted to the same obscuring muddiness. Above all, truth, historical truth, was perverted in the interests of an obscuring nationalism. The end was not so much to equip every citizen with a pair of standardized blinders fixing his eyes on a narrow and *Verboten*-lined path, but to deform his vision. It is a sorry and familiar tale; but to put it all simply and logically, so that he who runs may read, and reading run, is a distinct service. When the moral is to be pointed to the unadorned tale, Professor Willoughby rightly finds it in a psychological lesson. The realest motive of Prussian *Realpolitik* is plain self-seeking elaborately disguised; and the mechanism is the same technique whereby the troubled mind of guilt evades, excuses, tampers, and confuses. The German mind is suffering from a "complex," a Freudian reality; as such, it is founded on the bed-rock of motive, and despite the elaborate rationalisation, like murder it will out. The clue to responsibility lies here; likewise to the profitable attitude of the other nations, now in a position to enforce their will. The verdict has been rendered; the Prussian philosophy is doomed. The reality of freedom and justice and moral responsibility is vindicated.

The chief compensation offered by the efficiency of autocracy was the welfare of the masses—the successful paternal provision for avoiding the ills of a complex industrialized society. The *Gemüthlichkeit*, the comfort, the well-ordered life, seemed to be a special product of Germany, and figured largely in the propagandist arguments. So prosperous and enviable an issue bespoke a sound policy and a wise administration. And now Mr. Gustavus Myers steps in and makes of the *Gemüthlichkeit* "The German Myth." "The falsity of Germany's 'social progress' claims" is this thesis, fortified by chapter and verse and statistics and foot-notes. Poverty, overcrowding, child labor, overwork, underfeeding, crime, immorality—all the social evils are as prevalent in Germany as elsewhere. Once again have we been deceived. Not only has the birthright been exchanged for a mess of pottage, but the pottage is no more succulent, no less polluted, than in less boastful lands that admit their shortcomings but cherish a fairer future where wrongs will be reduced and the blessings of liberty made more secure.

For the specific purpose of his thesis Mr. Myers's evidence is convincing. "Germany has posed as the paradise of all countries." "Instead of having the ideal conditions that the world was led to believe it had, Germany's social and industrial conditions have been of the worst. Also, that its much-vaunted 'social legislation' has been nothing more than a counterfeit and hoax, deliberately intended to be an imposition and successfully carried out as such." This sounds plausible and may be true; it can hardly be statistically demonstrated because the evidence lies in motive. Social provisions may be used as a pacifier; no virtue, least of all patriotism, which has been defined as the last resort of a scoundrel, is free from abuse. Yet it would be unjust to disregard the unquestioned achievements of the questioned provisions; all good systems of administration must be judged by their results in the hands of their friends, and the friendship must be sincere. Many of the features of Germany's housekeeping remain enviable, even if we concede that some of it was carried on under the principle of fine fronts and ugly backs, orderly dwellings and rubbish-laden closets containing a skeleton or two. Social evils may be the cost of a philosophy as well as the sign of neglect. That Germany deliberately taught social servitude mollified by sops of content remains as the serious charge. There is a profound difference despite comparable culpability in the philosophies of inculcation and of negligence.

Herr Karl Krause adds the finishing touch of protest and confession, and by the same token of the ready clarity of vision, when the blinders were firmly declined. He speaks for the small group of Social Democrats who resisted the voice of patriotic temptation and stood by their principles as their guns. The German nation is dying because it accepted its disease as a virtue and a glory. "Nothing can make one forget that the vast majority of the German people did not resist the insanity, the barbarism of their government." "If you mention liberty to a German, you find about as much comprehension as if you were talking to a blind man of color. Sometimes he answers back: 'Why, we're not locked up in prison. We may walk about at large.'" "A prerequisite to a revolt is a sense of the indignity of slavery. The German people have no such sense." "We, too, once were a nation that had something like a sense of the dignity of freedom and human rights. That was after the revolutionary year 1848. But don't be alarmed. It wasn't very dangerous, that German revolution. Yet it was something."

Herr Krause's book is notable only for the loneliness of its cry. It is journalistic, disjointed, neither refined nor sustained. For that reason it is convincing; it contradicts the conclusions just cited. Once the scales have fallen from the eyes of his comrades, why should they see less clearly, feel less warmly, than he, whose virtue lay in the courage rather than in the insight of his convictions? For from beginning to the end, the rotten state of the mark of Brandenburg was plain enough to the entire body of protestants clamoring helplessly but explicitly for the downfall of the system that was running for a fall.

By the irony of fate, the most distinguished professor of history celebrated his seventieth birthday on the day of the armistice. In recording his birthday impressions, he admits that the Social Democrats were the only leaders who saw truly. The professional historians wore peculiarly opaque blinders of their own manufacture. The rector of the University of Berlin, in posting a war notice, added to his name the long list of titles and honors, including almost all the academies except that of Paris, "from which he is 'honorably' excluded." The chapter citing the incident bears the legend: "Asininities." The picture of the real state of mind of protesting Germany is an essential part of the *Realpolitik*, persistently and dangerously overlooked and suppressed. The volcano is now in eruption.

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Verse Technique Humanized

The Writing and Reading of Verse. By C. E. Andrews. New York: D. Appleton & Company. $2.

A FEAT which might well have been deemed impossible by the average enlightened reader has been performed by Professor Andrews. He has written on the subject of verse-technique a three-hundred-page book which is important for the special student—and interesting to the average enlightened reader. The solution of this notable paradox is simple. Mr. Andrews has laid firm hold upon a principle so obvious that one wonders how the majority of metrical theorists succeed in obscuring it: the principle that to view the elements of verse veraciously, which means in this case also interestingly, one must collocate the standpoint of the technical student with the standpoint of the average intelligent reader. Only thus, as the author has seen, can the results of analysis agree with the actual experiences involved in the writing and reading of verse. Accordingly, Mr. Andrews throws his chief emphasis, not upon the time-worn metrical "foot," but upon the complete line of verse, since this is obviously the unit in the foreground of the poetic consciousness. First, he discusses the line of verse merely as a succession of more or less equal "time-intervals," marked off, in English poetry, chiefly by stresses. He shows the range of rhythmical variations which a verse may undergo in accordance with the tastes of different readers, and effectively uses musical notation, as well as the conventional bar, for purposes of scansion. Then he considers the rhythmic effect of a series of verse ("verse-pattern"), which depends in the first instance upon whether the "time-intervals" comprise predominantly two or three syllables ("duple" or "triple" rhythm); a free combination of these two types yielding a third ("duple-triple" rhythm). Not until he comes to analyze more intensively the movement and phrasing of verse does he allow the familiar terms "iambic," "trochaic," and so on, to emerge. "Iambic," for instance, appears here as a convenient appellative for a line which evinces predominantly "duple rhythm with rising movement." In short, the vexing question of the "foot" is properly merged, as it actually is for both poet and reader, in the question of the line and stanza.

In the author's discussion of particular verse-forms the most important feature, for those who are interested in the "new poetry" of England and America, is his treatment of the relations between blank verse, prose, and free verse. Mr. Andrews is very sympathetic and receptive (conservatives would say, too receptive) in his attitude toward free forms of verse; and he urges that: "This recent development of free verse is a natural reaction following the kind of poetry written between 1880 and 1910. The successors of Tennyson and Swinburne constituted a group of poets of as high a degree of technical skill in difficult fixed rhythms and metres as any period can show. A radical change in type was to be expected." Hence his ultimate verdicts, given as they are with a sincere effort at scientific dispassionateness, are all the more convincing. From a wide survey of free rhythms, in literature new and old, he concludes: "The first necessity for the writer of 'rhythmical prose' is an elevation of thought which will impel a reader sensitive to the emotion expressed to make the time between the accented syllables perceptibly equal." Further: "The notion that free verse is a more natural form of expression, and therefore easier to write than fixed verse, is, I think, a fallacy. The difficulty in composition which free verse presents is that it does not force the poet to contemplate his thought with an intensity which brings out its fullest possibilities, and which at the same time rejects its superfluous fringes. Great free verse can be written only by a mind capable of concentration and of self-criticism." Again: "The theory of the vers librists is that the freedom of their form permits a wider use of expressive rhythmic effects, but in actual fact a reader will turn many pages of the recent volumes of verse before he finds a rhythm which stands out unmistakably as a perfect accord of form with thought." Finally: "A good plan, I think, for the aspirant who wishes to write free verse, is to study the qualities of prose rhythms written by the masters of style."

One wishes that Mr. Andrews had omitted his somewhat redundant chapter on rhyme and developed more fully the subject of quantity. Sometimes his method is too sketchy, and lacking in subtlety. Most questionable is his ultra-modern tendency to believe that what have been discovered by experience to be the most satisfying modes of rhythm have no inherent excellence and derive their value from custom only. Surely one does not need to be a transcendental believer in beauty to feel the fallacy here: "There is no reason a priori that any arrangement of syllables that is possible to read in approximately equal time parts should not please our ear as it did the ears of the Saxons, but poets have accustomed us to certain rhythms and neglected others so that we call unusual ones bad verse." But much is forgiven to an author who has succeeded in humanizing the field of verse-technique.

Chronicles of the Land

From Sunup to Sundown. By Corra Harris and Faith Harris Leach. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. $1.50.

The Fairview Idea. A Story of the New Rural Life. By Herbert Quick. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $1.50.

THE heedless and sentimental phase of the "back to the land" movement is steadily passing. Farming authorities, including the best farm papers, have always deplored it, and have done their best to warn a susceptible public against the lures of pure sentimentality like that of "David Grayson" and of the "success" stories with which certain elaborately rural publications have found it profitable to fill their pages. It is neither all fun nor all profit on the small farm for anybody, and there is very little of either for the middle-aged city man, without experience *and* capital, who tries to make a living out of such a farm. A good many luckless ones have been finding this out for themselves, and have passed the word along. Just now, with the outrageous cost of labor, seed, and fertilizers, the outlook is more hazardous than ever. Nevertheless, there are thousands of people in the cities who more or less articulately yearn for country life; and there are a few of them who have the assets in money and health and intelligence and persistence to give them a promising start on a stiff adventure. "From Sunup to Sundown" tells the story of such a pair, from two points of view. It takes the form of a correspondence between a mother and her newly-married daughter. The mother is the widow of a prosperous Georgia farmer; after his death she has continued to run the farm in the old-fashioned way, helped by good sense and care for detail. The daughter has had "advantages," educational and social, and seems destined for a city marriage. But the young lawyer of her heart longs for the land. The inheritance of a run-down two-hundred-acre farm and ten thousand dollars gives him his excuse. So John and Dora presently find themselves married and struggling with the problems of "Cloverset." Dora has been none too keen for it, and at first rebels against the toilfulness and isolation of the life. But she has farmer's blood in her. John, therefore, has three things rare in the lot of the would-be back-to-the-lander: a farm, a bit of capital, and a wife who can buckle down and help in the actual work of the farm. Dora takes off her dainty gown and her high-heeled slippers and becomes groom, chef, and doctor to the pure-bred swine who are really to lay the foundations of "Cloverset's" success. John has the money to buy these swine, the wife to care for them, and the sense to run the farm for their benefit. If he had not the ability and courage to spend three or four thousand on the farming the first year, if he had not a specially keen sense about the application of new methods to old problems, if he had not a wife ready to work in the pig-pen or elsewhere when the pinch came—this would be a different story. The story of it, after all, is barely the main thing. These letters—between the old-fashioned mother, with

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her set ways, her sharp humor, and her amused skepticism as to her son-in-law's new-fangled methods, and the not untemperamental daughter who might have been a city butterfly but turns out a zealous farm-wife—are full of sense and fun and feeling. If the animus is in favor of the farmer's and the farm-wife's existence as against the lawyer's and law-wife's (as if there could be such a thing!) those of us who live on the land may boldly assert that it is rightly so—other things being approximately equal.

As a story, this chronicles an experiment in individualism on the farm, though at the end we find John tackling a half-charitable "coöperative" arrangement with a crippled neighbor. "The Fairview Idea" shows a whole community of gone-to-seed farms and slack, discouraged farmers revitalized by contact with new ideas of thrift and energy and united effort as applied to farming and living. It is a series of anecdotes or monologues about Fairview and her people by one Abner Dunham, who confesses himself to be reputed "the most eminent mossback in the countryside." He shows how most of his contemporaries have "retired" from farming and Fairview, making themselves miserable in the city and leaving their land at the mercy of shifting tenants, who "move on from place to place, robbing the soil of all the fertility they can force out of it, raising their families any way at all, and contributing nothing to the community." It is a new wilderness in the old "Corn-Belt," crying out for a new race of pioneers. They appear, heralded by a parson and a schoolmaster, vigorous, intelligent young men who in their different ways succeed in rousing the community to a sense of its possibilities as a place to live in, not merely to get away from. Some of the old people come back, and new people come to stay in a community that now has a good school, a good church, and a spirit of coöperation in all things. Some new-comers are predestined to failure. As against Fairview's one notable successful "book-farmer," who, like the ex-lawyer of "From Sunup to Sundown," begins with the ownership of his land and some capital, were to be offset the run of the "back-to-the-landers who thought they could read their way to successful agriculture, and visionary people who thought the rest of us fools; and themselves proceeded to fool their farms away by doing everything differently; but it wouldn't be fair to charge such cases against book farming, because, in all probability they would have failed if they had gone into any other business." The safe way of making the adventure is illustrated by the case of the Foggs, who wish, with $800 of savings, to make a payment on a little farm and start in to live on it. Our "old mossback's" advice sends the man to a dairy farm as hired man for a year, and the girl into a neighboring farm-wife's kitchen, whereby they learn the business of farming at other people's expense, add some hundreds of dollars to their little capital, and a year later are able to make their plunge with a fair chance of success. In a larger way, this book is a plea for a more generous recognition of the farmer's importance and needs by the Government and by public opinion, for the decrease of absentee landlordism and the consequent robbing of the land. The number of farm-owners should be growing instead of shrinking. One means towards this growth lies in the work of the Federal Farm Loan Bureau, of which Mr. Quick is a member, another in the county agent and his manifold activities. Church and school also must be ruralized, made to fit the needs and the lives of the country-dweller, so that they may be fountains not only of "efficiency," but of social and intellectual pleasure. All of the various country life interests should be federated. There must be real unity and thorough-going coöperation among the various farmers' organizations—those supported out of the public treasury, and the private or voluntary associations. Animated by a unified purpose, they must present a single front in support of an aggressive programme. Only by these means may we hope to see the restoration of that "rural morale" which once stood so high among us, and on which the safety of the nation depends. All this is vigorously set forth in the author's preface, and is enforced in a narrative which is as well equipped with humor as with good counsel.

Books in Brief

WITH the suave urbanity of his profession, never changing his tone of salon causerie, Mr. Eugene de Schelking relates his "Recollections of a Russian Diplomat" (Macmillan; $2.50). Whether he is telling a typical diplomatic anecdote, or whispering some piece of gossip with the trade-mark of the court of Munich or Berlin or Petrograd, or discussing a grave problem of some international villainy perpetrated by crowned heads, Mr. de Schelking preserves the same attitude of aloofness and indifference. It is this quality of the author's utterances that deserves attention, rather than the information they convey. The author has known the diplomatic game since 1883, mingling with colleagues in nearly all the Continental capitals, with fourteen years of service in the Russian embassy at Berlin included in his career. While he adds little to what is already known about the no longer reigning house of Bavaria, about the dismissal of Bismarck, or the idiosyncrasies of Wilhelm II, or the German and Russian Foreign Ministers, or about the immediate causes of the Russian Revolution, the personal touches and the point of view have a charm of their own. Mr. de Schelking illustrates with admirable though unconscious frankness how men of his profession regard the personalities and the actions of such celebrities as Nicholas, Wilhelm, Witte, Sazonov, Bülow, Czar Ferdinand, Bethmann-Hollweg, Clemenceau, and others. Their methods and criteria are absolutely unhuman and soulless. Coarse pragmatism and petty Machiavellianism imbue their judgments and evaluations. Nicholas II is blamed not because he outraged his people and committed perjuries and plotted with Wilhelm against France and let himself be influenced by renegades and degenerates, but because—he failed! Clemenceau tells the author of his admiration for the Russian Minister of Finance, Kokovtsev, because the latter "is a blackmailer of the first water"—that is to say, because Kokovtsev succeeded in forcing the French Government to agree to a loan, under the threat of declaring Russia bankrupt. Mr. de Schelking asserts that "of all the ministers during the reign of Nicholas, Goremikin and Witte had the greatest individuality and independence." Yet a few pages previous to this statement we read of Goremikin's complaint that the Emperor "treats him as if he were his valet de chambre," though he admits that if recalled by Nicholas he "would go to him just as a dog to the whistle of his master."

AN odd compound of pedantry, insight, and verbal exuberance is Robert Naylor Whiteford's "Motives in English Fiction" (Putnam; $2). The author's purpose, if we really make it out, has been "to determine the leading motives, distinctively English in origin, which were formative in creating the atmosphere, plot, dialogue, and characterization" of the English novel from Malory to Miss Mitford (in the main body of the book) and onward to De Morgan (in a long final chapter). For the rest, this study is based upon a conviction that, as we common people say, human nature is always the same, so that "when we pick up the garment of atmosphere, motivation, dialogue, and characterization, we find it is a Joseph-coated raiment that for centuries has been woven and worn by novelists from Malory to De Morgan. The whole force of my exposition of the advance of the English novel has been thrown on motives manifesting themselves in variations that lie back of all life." Light is cast upon this somewhat dark saying by the ensuing citation of Sir Walter Scott to the effect that "those passions common to men in all stages of society, and which have alike agitated the human heart, whether it throbbed under the steel corslet of the fifteenth century, the brocaded coat of the eighteenth, or the blue frock and white dimity waistcoat of the present day." But this does not help as to the "distinctively English motives" we are supposed to be after, and the text that follows cannot be said to clear up the point. What we are sure of here is a deliberately unconventional history of the English novel, embodying a vast

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amount of miscellaneous information more or less enlivened by the commentary of the author. At best, he is acute and suggestive. But he is an unscrupulous dealer in metaphor and epigram, and at worst descends to a kind of dreadful sprightliness in the presence of which a modest reader (as one would have said a couple of centuries ago) hardly knows which way to look. "The Reverend Mr. Slope dances forward to find a partner in Trollope's Ferdinand Lopez, but in stealth and avarice used to obtain power Slope is many shades lighter in villainy than the subtle scoundrel in 'The Prime Minister.' He and Madeline Neroni, and the one-legged siren, who had in her the mischief of a centipede, are made out of the same clay as Hall Caine's John Storm and Gloria Quayle." The writer's critical limitations are suggested by his habitual bracketing of Thomas Hardy and Hall Caine, culminating in this dictum: "The philosophy in the Hardy-Caine fiction is the non-religious spirit that animates its heroines and heroes."

PARTICULARLY timely at the present moment, when the question of Jewish rights in several European lands is bound to form the subject of discussion at the Peace Conference, is Max J. Kohler's treatise on "Jewish Rights at the Congresses of Vienna (1814-1815) and Aix-La-Chapelle (1818)." Mr. Kohler gives an elaborate account of the discussions and negotiations at the Congress of Vienna which ultimately resulted in the adoption of a clause favoring the abolition of the most oppressive Jewish disabilities in the various German states. Metternich and Hardenberg, the leading figures at the Congress of Vienna, were firmly in favor of the Jewish cause, but the representatives of several German states were just as firmly opposed to it. Exceedingly characteristic of the devious ways of old-time European diplomacy is the curious change of wording which was introduced into the clause regarding Jewish rights. The original draft of the clause provided that the forthcoming Convention of the Confederated German States should definitely determine the civil status of the Jews, but that in the meantime "the adherents of that faith shall enjoy the rights heretofore accorded to them *in* the several [German] states." This formulation implied that the Jews were to continue in the enjoyment of the rights which had shortly before been granted to them in those states during the French occupation. At a session of the Congress, of which curiously enough no official mention in the records of the Congress is to be found, the preposition "in" was changed into "by," thereby changing radically and practically invalidating the entire purport of the clause. This change was passed unnoticed at the time, though it was taken advantage of by several states of Germany, and the Jews of Hamburg and Frankfort-on-the-Main remained subject to their ancient disabilities, while those of Lübeck and Bremen were altogether expelled. It was a long time before the Jews of Germany won their fight for emancipation, although this emancipation has largely remained a "scrap of paper" until the present day. Mr. Kohler's treatise is full of interesting facts illustrative of the pitfalls of European diplomacy, which it is the hope of all friends of human progress the present Peace Conference will be able to avoid.

AS a practical guide we think that the manual by Mr. George Summey, jr., on "Modern Punctuation" (Oxford University Press; $1.50) fails largely because of its author's horror of hard-and-fast rules. In vain we look in its pages for an authoritative word on the various questions which are constantly clamoring for definitive solution in printing offices and editorial rooms. Here philosophical disquisition is far too prone to take the place of legislation, leaving us as much in the dark as ever. Of his mistrust of rules Mr. Summey makes no secret; nay, he is constantly parading it. A good example of what we are now referring to appears in the author's treatment of the punctuation of series. In the matter of triads, he says: "Regarding the series of three or more distinct coördinate members with conjunction between only the last two, as in 'Rheims, Cambrai, and Ypres,' there is no uniformity of practice. Nearly all textbooks on rhetoric or punctuation specify the use of the comma before the conjunction; and this style is customarily followed in many periodicals and books, especially by writers who are careful of their pointing. . . . On the other hand, most newspapers and some other periodicals print such a series with no comma before the conjunction. . . . The rigid no-comma rule is tyrannical; the rigid comma rule is not regularly followed even by careful authors. In some cases triads are stilted if a comma is used with the conjunction, in other cases awkward if the comma is omitted. Either style leaves opportunity for the exercise of judgment." So also, we find the treatment of so simple a matter as interrogations complicated by the admission of unnecessary exceptions, such as the substitution of the period for the question mark where "the interrogative form is merely a form of courtesy." In general, we should say that Mr. Summey is much happier in his discussions of underlying principles than in his detailed directions for their specific application.

WHATEVER comes from the pen of Lieutenant-Commander Charles C. Gill, one of the closest and ablest American students of naval affairs, is worth reading. His little book, "Naval Power in the War, 1914 to 1918" (Doran; $1.50), will appeal to all who are interested in the subject. The definitions and illustrations of such things as Sea Power, Sea Control, and so forth, with which the volume opens, are brief and lucid. The principal incidents of the war before we entered it are handled in the next one hundred and forty pages, and are accurately if meagrely related. Two most interesting chapters on the submarine are included in this part. Our share in the great struggle is told in copious extracts from last year's report of the Secretary of the Navy. The endeavor, if not the necessity, to compress so much matter into so small a space appears to have turned the book into a primer rather than a history. It would be unfair, therefore, to institute a comparison between this effort and such a book as Pollen's "British Navy in Battle." Moreover, the author has labored under the heavy handicap of having to meet the "approval" of the Navy Department, which is synonymous with censorship. To one of Mr. Gill's knowledge, grasp, and fertility of expression, these restrictions must have been as irksome as they are regrettable. He has confined himself to the major operations on the water, his object being to accentuate the important part played by naval power rather than to present a detailed narrative. His style is commendably simple and clear.

WHALING days and whaling ways are now so fast becoming a mere memory or vague tradition to most of us that it is somewhat startling to chance upon a present-day narrative of the voyage of a New Bedford whale-ship of the old-time pattern, insignificant in tonnage and depending wholly on her sails for propulsion. Such a narrative is that written by Walter Noble Burns and entitled "A Year with a Whaler" (Macmillan; $2). The brig Alexander on which he shipped as a greenhorn, apparently for the sake of adventure chiefly, was built at New Bedford, but sailed in this instance from San Francisco for Behring Sea and the Arctic Ocean by way of the Hawaiian Islands. "Salt horse," hardtack, harsh treatment, and peril a-plenty, with one "big iron dollar" as payment at the end, were the adventurer's portion in addition to "an experience informing, interesting, health-giving, and perhaps worth while," but which he declares he would not repeat for ten thousand dollars. Thrilling incidents in abundance, attested in some degree by illustrations from photographs, fill his lively pages and serve to dispel all somnolent tendencies in the reader. If the book it not gospel truth from beginning to end, it wears at least a most engaging air of verisimilitude and is as good a sailor's yarn as is often spun. The Outing Publishing Company originally issued the book in 1913; its re-issue by its present publishers should prove a safe risk.

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Drama

"A Burgomaster of Belgium"

THE production of Maeterlinck's "The Burgomaster of Stilemonde," under the title of "A Burgomaster of Belgium," in the Belmont Theatre, must be accounted among the very few notable dramatic incidents of the present season. The play has been the subject of so much recent discussion that it can scarcely be necessary now to describe it in detail. It has been generally regarded as a novel and successful experiment on the part of the author in the field of realism, but this definition is only partly true. On the surface, indeed, the story, both in its incidents and the manner of their narration, is simplicity itself, and—although it is neatly and clearly constructed with strict observance of the classical unities of time, place, and action—it does not exhibit any remarkable fertility or originality of invention. In these respects, in mere theatrical effectiveness, it might suffer in comparison with some other contemporaneous war pieces, but in depth and sincerity of purpose and cogency of illustration, it is infinitely superior to all of them. The strength of it resides not only in its essential veracity and pathos, but in its deeper significance.

Actually, the piece is full of symbolism, and thoroughly characteristic of Maeterlinck, but in this instance his symbolism is clear, vital, and inspiring, which is not always true of him. The portrayal of the horrors of war especially in support of the remorseless and unscrupulous theory of Prussian militarism, is unflinching and vivid. But the purpose of that might be mainly theatrical, whereas the primary and truly dramatic aim, most successfully accomplished, which gives the play its artistic distinction and importance, is the contrast of the opposing principles of idealism and gross materialism. All the personages—the Burgomaster, with his keen sense of the personal duty and responsibility inseparable from authority; the old gardener and the wounded soldier who, knowing the Burgomaster's value, would have laid down their lives for him; the fond and simple secretary; the daughter, torn by distracting emotions but supremely filial in the end; the aristocratic Junker Major, blind and pitiless agent of an inexorable and conscienceless machine; the young lieutenant drilled into moral slavery—are types of their respective classes and conditions. All of them are made to play their parts in the development of the action and the final catastrophe naturally, adroitly, and in entire accordance with their characters. In the closing complications there is, perhaps, a little improbability, with a trace of artifice—though nothing that is absolutely unnatural or inconsistent—but they result logically in a situation, at the fall of the curtain, singularly complete in its tragic pathos.

The play is a little masterpiece chiefly by virtue of its lifelike characterization and a dialogue as pregnant in meaning as it is simple in expression. Professedly written as a brief in the case of Belgium against Germany, symbolizing the suffering of a nation in the fate of a single family, it is extraordinarily comprehensive in its suggestive scope and of international significance in its application. The German Major and his subordinates typify the whole system of the insensate and insatiable autocracy whose aim was the enslavement of mankind, and the Burgomaster and his little circle, the democratic principles of brotherhood and justice destined to make them free and happy. Unsuspicious and unready, the Burgomaster falls an easy victim to brutal force, but in the nobility of his death is the presage of spiritual triumph. Unpretentious as the drama is in form and style it is large and weighty in conception, high in principle, intensely human and full of warning. Though tragic in its outcome, it is not without its occasional note of optimism. It is unmistakably a work of genius. The representation, as a whole, was creditable and deserves success, but some managerial interpolations, presumably designed to heighten the theatrical effect, were blunders. J. R. T.

Art

An Innocuous Exhibition

WHEN we begin to think that the artist is great in proportion to his sensitiveness, that he is the barometer of periods as Taine has shown, a mirror of the knowledge and experience, qualities and faults, visions and superstitions of his environment, and then consider the National Academy of Design, we are likely to find it a barricade which our theory must hurdle or be broken. This ninety-fourth annual exhibition is quite successfully isolated from a fevered world, a peaceful oasis or a contradiction. It would be terrible to believe that the Academy reflects the temperamental condition of America, for that might be a tremendous condemnation of America. But who can tell? It is certain that the reactions of official artists of France and England have been shown, before now, to be hindered by traditions as though these were crustaceous, hopeless walls for new ideas to assault, perfect defences against such an enemy. It is pleasanter to think of the Academy as a private association of artists (which it literally is), who have surrounded themselves with intrenchments strong enough to ward off the contemporary bedlam.

There is commendable uniformity about this season's exhibits, a suggestion that the jury was in constant agreement or that there was less variety in the contributions of tentative exhibitors. The exhibition anyway is very definitely uncatholic. It contains nearly all the varieties of one kind of picture. This is an orderly, subdued, unimpulsive arrangement of lines and colors and forms, a law-abiding picture, disciplined in language, censored in message, which has become known as academic. The exceptions to this picture on these walls are fewer than at other Academy shows. Perhaps there are a half dozen, perhaps less. Childe Hassam's distinguished The Alders is the gayest note struck and Jerome Myers's Evening, so fluid in color, the most serious. It is fortunate that these two inspired works should be at the extreme ends of a wide span, a span that is temperamental as well as technical. Myers is a tonalist and realist who has the heart to be also a mystic; Hassam is an impressionist and realist who sometimes mixes a real elegance with the visions of pagan eyes.

But the character of the show is much better displayed by Daniel Garber's Hawk's Nest which is hung very honestly in the place of honor. This canvas is an almost perfect piece of academic craftsmanship, a true rhetorical chapter. It may be taken as an example of the effort made at this Academy, for of all those here—not counting the tentative half dozen exceptions—Mr. Garber's has more nearly reached a chosen goal. He has played with this type of arrangement for a long time. He has increased the dexterity with which he employs it, acquired a certain implacability which might casually be taken for mastery, but he has neither gone more deeply into the fundamentals of his subject nor brought there anything new worth recording. He has been content to repeat and refine a picturesque formula while the world was on fire, when every morning paper held a new emotional thrill or a new intellectual problem.

This is not a demand for war pictures; it is not a demand for a change of subject. Cézanne, to take a much discussed modernist as an example, has recorded himself, the sensitive receptacle of ideas impregnating the atmosphere of his day, in a tiny still life, a few pears on a plate. But perhaps again, the Academy is best considered as an isolated organization of artists which, safe in its stronghold of officialdom and the refuge of the name "National" (even though it is self-constituted), may play the fiddle while Rome burns.

There are many groups of artists here who are in one way or another sympathetic. Rosen, Spencer, Follinsbee, Redfield, Symons, Lie, Paul King, Chatterton, and Giles are representative contributors to a familiar landscape manner. Perhaps Edward W. Redfield is the high priest of this order. It has not retained much of that accentuation of sentimentalism which, under

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Inness, Wyant, and Martin, informed its beginnings. But its treatment of landscape is technically bigger and broader and freer, and spiritually owns a simulation of ruggedness, a hearty "American" manner, which sometimes comes of actual strength but more often is an imitative masque put on to hide a weakness. It has always seemed to me that its principal virtue was good behavior, definite docility in the application of a set of rules which makes most of all for judicious juxtaposition of values, a careful weighing of one tone against another. And that is almost invariably carried on with what might be called a middle-class tempering of excitement. Its pictures are frank to the point of baldness. But, excepting the contributions of a stylist like Leon Kroll, its drawing is the most massive of any here.

Men like Watrous, Henry, Couse, Curran, Palmer, and Carleton Wiggins represent an older order of painting and might at times be used to show what progress or change has been recorded within Academy walls in two decades. With them the forms are smaller and more literal, the color tends to be prettier and the emotional touches to be, as we might call them now, cheaply sentimental. Nevertheless these men, more than the others, might be said to stand resolutely upon their own legs. Fashion counts so much less with them. Another group includes George H. Bogert, J. Francis Murphy, and his shadow, Bruce Crane, Ballard Williams and Elliott Daingerfield. They are all tonalists who have apparently for years ceased carrying their canvases to nature and have relied entirely upon a distant original impression. Excepting the symbolist Daingerfield they are all one-picture men who never vary their color schemes and never materially change their designs. Colin Campbell Cooper's Chatham Square is probably the most literal picture in the collection.

Those of Charles Chapman, Philip L. Hale, O. Karfunkle, and Malcolm Parcell, in their somewhat separate ways, are the most decorative. But from Garber on it is neither an imaginative nor an inventive type of decorative motif that is found here. It does not even make use of the inherited resources which are in the stock rooms of all architects. In Carl Schmidt there is a reminder of the serenity of Puvis de Chavannes, in Gertrude Fisk of the textural adventures of that flamboyant Russian, Nicholas Fechin. The painters of Indians, among whom are Couse, Victor Higgins, and Walter Ufer, a comparative newcomer, are most convincingly represented. But these pictures of Indians do little more than employ them and their environment, more colorful than our cities, as picturesque motives allowing by their nature more use of color and more play of line.

Though a few of the regulars are missing, this Academy as a whole may be taken as a representative one. It is pleasant, peaceful, innocuous. Only in the Academy room known as the morgue are a few pictures which could, by a stretch of imagination, be termed ill-mannered; pictures which dare to deal in riotous colors and excited lines. The adjectives are comparative.

GUY PÈNE DU BOIS

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Finance

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Congress in providing for these loans did not say that they were to be financed out of Treasury funds. The probability is, therefore, that the War Finance Corporation will have to raise the money itself by selling its own bonds or short-term certificates of indebtedness. Within the past few days, the managing director has interrogated the banking interests of this and other cities concerning the best means of providing the funds required. The law gives the War Finance Corporation authority to issue its own bonds to an amount which shall equal six times its paid-in capital. This would be almost $3,000,000,000. But after these bonds have been issued they will have to be sold, so that the operation requires careful handling. The bonds cannot run for periods longer than five years and must not be made for a term shorter than twelve months. It will be easily possible for the banks to purchase these bonds if they care to do so, since the law makes the bonds available as collateral for loans obtained from the Federal Reserve Banks. Paper secured by the Corporation's bonds may be rediscounted in the same way. If the corporation seeks a direct market for its bonds, it can probably place them without much difficulty, provided the offering is kept within reasonable bounds.

This is only one means, however, of financing the most extraordinary financial trade opportunity which this country has ever had. A strong committee of bankers has been appointed to consider the same question in the effort to create ultimately a well organized market in the United States for foreign securities. The probability is that another committee will be appointed before long by an even larger conference of bankers, so as to formulate a comprehensive programme for meeting the needs of the situation.

The need for quick action along these lines has been emphasized by the recent declines in the foreign exchanges which have made it more costly for foreign customers of American interests to settle for merchandise purchased in this country. The sensational decline in London exchange, following the determination of the British Government to support no longer the price of sterling exchange, has forced international bankers and foreign trade interests to bestir themselves to provide an

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adequate plan for financing all these extraordinary foreign trade operations. The Government figures covering the foreign trade movement for February were most amazing, showing total exports of $588,000,000 in that month. Although this was a trifle less than the amount of outward shipments in January, it was far in excess of any export movement reported in any previous February. The excess of exports over imports amounted to $353,000,000, which was also a new high record for that month. Both imports and exports for the eight completed months of the fiscal year ending with February showed a new high record, as did also the excess of exports over imports in that period.

These figures are interesting, since they relate to one of the most extraordinary phenomena of our foreign trade movement growing out of the war. It is clearly to the advantage of the American people to extend their trade with foreign markets at this time, when a large portion of the world is clamoring for American merchandise and other products. In order to promote this movement, however, it will be necessary for us to provide for the accumulation of large credits in this country to which foreign customers of American merchants may have recourse.

WILLIAM JUSTUS BOIES.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Angell, Norman. The British Revolution and the American Democracy. Huebsch. $1.50.

Bates, Jean V. Our Allies and Enemies in the Near East. Dutton. $5.

Brailsford, H. N. The Covenant of Peace. Huebsch. 25 cents.

Butterfield, Kenyon L. The Farmer and the New Day. Macmillan. $2.

Christianity and Industrial Problems. Macmillan. 50 cents.

Douglass, Harlan P. The Little Town. Macmillan. $1.50.

Kerner, Robert J. Slavic Europe. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lawrence, T. J. The Society of Nations. Oxford Press. $1.50.

Levine, Louis. The Taxation of Mines in Montana. Huebsch. $1.

Nosek, Vladimir. Independent Bohemia. Dutton.

Poincaré, Raymond. How France is Governed. McBride. $2.

Pergler, Charles. The Czechoslovak State. New York: Czechoslovak Arts Club.

Radziwill, Catherine. The Firebrand of Bolshevism. Small, Maynard. $2.

Ruppin, Arthur. Syria: An Economic Survey. Provisional Zionist Committee.

Russell, Bertrand. Proposed Roads to Freedom. Holt. $1.50.

Seton-Watson, R. W. The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans. Dutton. $5.

Standard Manual of the Income Tax, 1919. New York: Standard Statistics Co.

Stull, William. The Food Crisis and Americanism. Macmillan. $1.25.

Sutherland, George. Constitutional Power and World Affairs. Columbia University Press.

Thomas, Arthur G. Principles of Government Purchasing. Appleton. $2.25.

Traffic Field, The. Chicago: La Salle Extension University.

U. S. Reclamation Service, The: Its History, Activities, and Organization. Appleton.

Waliszewski, K. La Pologne Inconnue. Paris: Armand Colin.

Wilton, Robert. Russia's Agony. Dutton. $5.

Your Job Back Home. Washington: American Library Association.

EDUCATION

Flexner, A., and Bachman, F. P. The Gary Schools. New York: General Education Board. 25 cts.

Harry, Philip W. Anécdotas Españolas. Allyn & Bacon. 80 cts.

Lavisse, Ernest. Histoire de France. Heath.

Morley, Edith J., editor. Edward Young's Conjectures on Original Composition. Longmans. $1.35.

Sharp, Frank C. Education for Character. Bobbs-Merrill.

Taylor, E. H., Allen, Fiske. Junior High School Mathematics. Holt.

Thurber, Samuel, jr., editor. Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar. Allyn & Bacon. 60 cts.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Allen, Frederick J. The Law as a Vocation. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Baylor, Courtenay. Remaking a Man. Moffat, Yard. $1.25.

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International Relations Section

Vol. CVIII NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1919 No. 2805

Why Hungary Revolted

By EUGENE S. BAGGER

THE proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, and its declaration of solidarity with Bolshevist Russia, are the logical sequels of the policy of the Allies toward the Karolyi Government which came into power through the overthrow of the Hapsburg régime in the bloodless revolution of October 30, 1918. This policy presents a striking analogy to the Entente attitude toward Kerensky, inasmuch as in both cases an opportunity for good was not merely wasted, but actually turned into disaster by ignorance and hostile intent. There is, however, the difference that the Hungarian catastrophe was much less inevitable, and could have been averted very much more easily than the upheaval which two years earlier had delivered Russia into the hands of Lenine and Trotzky.

The Entente policy toward Hungary, and its immediate effects, may be summed up as follows:

1. Following the military surrender of Hungary, as fixed by the armistice of November 4, 1918, all economic relief was withheld from the Karolyi Government, notwithstanding the latter's abject supplications. Nothing was done to assist the Magyar Government in restoring normal conditions of life, in creating employment for the masses of soldiers demobilized overnight, or to protect the population against winter's rigor. The Allied attitude in this respect was tersely summarized by a reported remark of General Franchet d'Esperey, who, when Karolyi literally begged him for coal for the flour mills of Hungary, advised the Magyars to use windmills.

2. Instead of reserving the application of the principle to the Peace Conference, whose award, reached after both sides had been heard, might have included those economic guarantees without which a reduced Magyar state cannot subsist, the states which claimed Hungarian territory were not simply permitted, but ordered, to take the law into their own hands and to occupy the contested areas. Lines of demarcation, fixed without consulting the populations involved or the Magyar Government, were persistently disregarded by the Czecho-Slovak, Serbian, and Rumanian troops of occupation, which utilized the helpless condition of the Magyar state for creating "accomplished facts," for stifling the manifestations of popular desire, for giving vent to instincts of cruelty, greed, and revenge, and—worst of all—for cutting off such supplies of foodstuffs, fuel, and raw materials as up to the time of occupation were still obtainable at Budapest.

3. As a result of this arrangement the Karolyi Government had to announce early in January that it was impossible to hold elections for the constituent assembly, as only five out of the sixty-three counties of Hungary were free from enemy occupation. The carrying out of the sorely-needed land reform—probably the most potent preventive of the spread of communism—had to be abandoned for the same reason. Appeals and protests of the Karolyi Government were ignored, or heeded only when it was too late. The subsequent loss of prestige suffered by the Karolyi Government was almost as important a factor in the general demoralization as the steadily increasing material suffering and hopelessness.

Yet whatever arguments of prudence and justice were invoked by liberals in Allied countries, who urged the support of the Ebert Government in Germany against monarchist restoration and Spartacan anarchy, applied to the case of the Karolyi Government as well, but with two important additions. First, whereas a restored but unrepentant Germany might endanger the safety of the Allies, in the case of Hungary such danger was negligible. Second, the triumph of the Magyar revolution represented a victory for the Entente in a positive, constructive sense to which the fall of the old régime in Germany furnished no parallel. While the German Majority Socialists, under the leadership of Scheidemann and Ebert, were from the beginning to all but the end steadfast supporters of the Hohenzollern policy, in Hungary Karolyi maintained throughout an unflinching opposition to the war and showed himself, at the risk of his immense fortune and even of his personal safety, a courageous and useful friend of the Allies.

With the overthrow of the monarchy anti-German, antimilitaristic, and pro-Entente sentiment, steadily growing during the last two years under the influence of the Wilsonian policy as championed by Karolyi, reached its zenith in Hungary. A few strokes of statesmanship, a few concessions involving not the essentials of the Allied programme but merely the pace and manner of its realization, and the Allies could have turned the Magyars into their faithful friends and hastened materially the pacification of southeastern Europe.

This end might have been achieved by arranging for economic relief for Hungary, especially in regard to fuel, the most urgently needed supply; and by carrying out the suggestions of the Magyar armistice delegates to the effect that, until the boundaries of the liberated nations were definitively fixed by the peace treaty, the entire territory of Hungary should remain under Magyar civil administration, and that Allied occupation, if decided upon, should be carried out by disinterested French or British troops.

Far from prejudicing the principle of self-determination and the pledges of the Allies to Czecho-Slovaks, Jugoslavs, and Rumanians, such an arrangement would eventually have facilitated their execution. No doubt the thought of territorial losses would have been distasteful to the majority of the Magyar people under any circumstances, but it would have been decidedly easier to acquiesce in them on the strength of an award of the Peace Conference, rendered after both sides had been heard, and accompanied by those economic guarantees and minority safeguards which, for the Magyar state, are literally matters of life and death.

Unfortunately for the future peace of southeastern Europe, the course suggested by the Magyar Government was

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eventually rejected, and the surrender of the contested territories was ordered. The Magyar Government, rendered helpless by the armistice terms, complied. What followed can be best likened to a Wild West land rush in the good old preëmpting days. The invading armies of Czecho-Slovaks, Jugoslavs, and Rumanians, putting down the impromptu resistance offered here and there by the disorganized remnants of the Magyar army, closed in upon Budapest from the northwest, the south, and the east.

Of the sweeping effects of this unprecedented attack on a people bound hand and foot by its *bona fide* surrender, only a brief summary can here be given. To the extent that the prestige of the Karolyi Government was shaken, the strength of the counter-revolutionary and pro-German sentiment increased. Reactionary nobles and generals openly accused Karolyi of selling out the country to its enemies. Arrests were of no avail; counter-revolution showed itself daily in the most unexpected quarters. On the other hand Bolshevism, with its treasury filled with Russian gold and its ranks recruited from the swarms of demobilized, starving soldiers, received new impetus through the stoppage of the wretchedly inadequate supplies of fuel and raw materials from the invaded territories. One important coal centre, Salgo-Tarjan, was taken by the Czechs, who crossed the line of demarcation for the purpose; another, Petrozseny (Petrochani), by the Rumanians. Not only did the invaders confiscate whatever they needed of cattle or grain, but they actually put an embargo on shipments to the capital, where food supplies fell almost overnight by over fifty per cent. In the meantime, the population of Budapest was swelled within two months from one million to two millions by the hosts of hungry and penniless refugees from the invaded areas.

Repeated attempts of the Communists to establish a proletarian dictatorship were defeated with much difficulty and bloodshed. Fighting in the Budapest streets became more common than street-car service. Tenants of apartment houses had to be armed by the police against the organized gangs of looters. Trade, commerce, banking, travel, even such conveniences as electric lighting, became almost memories of the past. The financial needs of the Administration were taken care of by the Government printing presses.

The opening of Hungary to the preëmptors had, so far as the Allies themselves were concerned, the immediate bad effect of creating friction among the liberated peoples. War between Serbia and Rumania over conflicting territorial claims in the Banat of Temesvar was averted at the last moment by the solemn warning of the Paris conference. In this instance, at least, the original suggestion of the Magyar Government was adopted. According to the *Pesti Hirlap* of January 30, French troops were ordered to release the Serbians in the Temesvar district.

But the real danger of the arrangement was that, by its very indefinite and provisional character, it aroused dormant tendencies of imperialism, and a desire to influence the eventual outcome by the creation of accomplished facts. Even without the ultimate result of driving Hungary into the arms of Bolshevist Russia, this outlawing of the newborn Magyar republic was destined to frustrate, for a long period to come, the crystallization of that new spirit of conciliation and coöperation upon which alone an enduring settlement of the Austro-Hungarian problem could rest.

The practice of creating accomplished facts by crossing the lines of demarcation and by exacting oaths of allegiance from officials and from the population generally, was adopted from the outset by Serbians, Czecho-Slovaks, and Rumanians alike. It must be added, however, that in the beginning at least the attitude of the Serbian troops was marked by a chivalrous dignity which the Budapest press willingly acknowledged, contrasting it with the extreme severity and greed of the Czechs and the outright barbarity of the Rumanians.

It is in the relations of the Czecho-Slovaks to the Magyar republic that the fateful implications of a policy founded upon fear, enmity, and greed can be most clearly traced. Most persons will agree that the Czecho-Slovak struggle for independence constitutes one of the most inspiring chapters of the world war. The Czecho-Slovak nation has demonstrated that democratic spirit and methods are not incompatible with minute efficiency and compact organization. The Czecho-Slovak declaration of independence embodies the ideals of international democracy better than any other public document of our day, except some of the utterances of President Wilson. The Czecho-Slovak activities in Hungary, however, appear in a light all the more sinister. First of all, the line of demarcation, as drawn at the behest of the Prague Government, was based, not on the ethnographic boundary between Magyar and Slovak, but on an arbitrary "strategic necessity." In the negotiations of last November the Magyar Government offered to evacuate the territories in which at least fifty per cent. of the population was of Slovak nationality. This was rejected, and the line was fixed along the course of the Danube from Pressburg to the mouth of the Ipoly, notwithstanding the presence between the river and the southern boundary of the Slovak linguistic area of an uninterrupted Magyar strip averaging twenty miles in width.

A number of important cities with considerable and even overwhelming Magyar majorities are situated along the actual linguistic boundary, and could thus safely have been left under Magyar rule. But the principle seems to have been enunciated that the "natural boundary" of Czecho-Slovakia is the Danube—just as some Frenchmen insist that the natural boundary of France is the Rhine.

In Pressburg (Pozsony) Germans and Magyars outnumber the Slovaks six to one. The city is claimed by the Czechs frankly on the ground that it is valuable. It controls the Budapest-Vienna line of communications, and the first act of the Czecho-Slovaks upon occupying it, on January 4, was to cut the railway and wire communications between the two capitals.

The working of the method of *faits accomplis* is illustrated by the decree of the Czech zupan at Pozsony. According to *Pesti Hirlap* of January 18, this official, Zoch by name, put an embargo on all Budapest newspapers, with the interesting explanation that those papers were discussing the ultimate fate of Pozsony, whereas "the whole world knows that the annexation of the city of Pozsony to Czecho-Slovakia is an accomplished fact." Later, however, some doubt must have entered the zupan's mind. On February 4 an Inter-Allied commission was to arrive at Pozsony. On the same day, the *Pesti Naplo* reports, 20,000 Slovak peasants of the neighboring district were ordered by the Czecho-Slovak authorities to present themselves in the city. The Magyar newspapers could not help suspecting a deeper significance in this coincidence.

The principle of self-determination was further violated by the frequent excursions of the Czechs across the line of

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demarcation into pure Magyar territory, and the occupation of Magyar cities like Balassa-Gyarmat and Komarom, the important river fortress and harbor on the right Danube bank. The Czechs even encamped within thirty kilometres of Budapest itself. That these inroads were accompanied by comparatively little bloodshed speaks well not only for the leadership and discipline of the Czecho-Slovak troops, but also for the sensible behavior of the Magyar officials and population. The Magyar resentment of Czecho-Slovak tactics is evidenced, nevertheless, by the general strike which, according to an Amsterdam dispatch of February 27, broke out at Komarom and spread rapidly over the whole of northern Hungary, involving some 30,000 Magyar civil servants, railway, postal, and telegraph employees, merchants, professional men, and miners. The Magyar newspapers report that the Czechs practiced an unparalleled severity in surpressing this strike, and staged, at Pozsony, wholesale executions by way of deterrent.

One key to the extreme aggressiveness of the Czechs may be found in the decidedly dubious attitude of the Slovak population itself in parts of northern Hungary. Budapest newspapers report that the Slovaks of the Csacza district, on the Silesian border, far from hailing the Czechs as liberators, called in Polish troops to chase the Czechs away. Even more remarkable is the behavior of the so-called Eastern Slovaks, who speak a separate dialect and whose strong anti-Czech sentiment expressed itself in the proclamation at Kassa, on December 5, of an independent Slovak republic. The Czechs charge this dissent to Magyar propaganda, which, however, proves nothing except that the Magyars have profited from the lessons taught them by the Czechs themselves. Budapest newspapers from about February 10 report that this anti-Czech sentiment was rapidly gaining among the entire Slovak population, chiefly by reason of the Czech methods of enforcing requisitions.

Another illustration of the Czecho-Slovak mood was furnished by their demand for a common boundary line with the Rumanians, which would involve the annexation of Magyar and Uhro-Rusin territory. But the most characteristic demand of Czech imperialism was that for a "corridor" through a sixty-mile strip of western Hungary inhabited by Magyars and Germans, to connect their state with Jugoslavia. From the point of view of international morality this plan would be paralleled by the expropriation of a strip running from the Czech border through Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden to the French frontier, on the ground that both Frenchmen and Czechs are afraid of the Germans. The plan is a typical instance of *Machtpolitik*, and with its implied emphasis upon strategic guarantees, military railways, and exclusive trade routes defies the entire ideology of a league of nations.

As for the question of Rumanian-Magyar relations, it must suffice to say that the Rumanians, besides duplicating every excess of the Czecho-Slovak and Serb invasions, have been guilty of a series of atrocities which called down upon them the censure of the British military authorities. Here, too, as in the case of the Czecho-Slovaks, the Magyar population of the invaded area voiced its protest in a great strike, in which over 32,000 persons, representing all walks of life, participated.

The effects of the Bolshevist *coup* in Hungary cannot yet be predicted. The causes, however, seem to stand out clearly enough. More than anything else, the overturn is the direct result of the French policy of creating "bulwarks" against Germany in the East. In order to strengthen Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania, considerations of reason and justice have been thrown overboard in the handling of Hungary. So far the scheme does not appear to be crowned with success; on the contrary, it bids fair to create a second Polish problem. The crimes of historic Poland were at least as grave as the crimes of historic Hungary; but the partition of Poland outweighed them all, and the penalty was paid by Europe. The partition of Poland was imitated in the last four months, not by the mere fact of detaching from the body of Hungary a fringe of non-Magyar areas, but by doing this in a summary manner, without ascertaining the merits and peculiar difficulties of each case, and, above all, without simultaneously granting to the Magyar nation the full political and economic guarantees necessary to its existence; by applying the doctrine of self-determination where it benefited the Czech and the Rumanian, and by applying something else where it would have benefited the Magyar. Hungary was treated in accordance with the principle, not of Mr. Wilson, but of Brennus. The world is invited to witness and partake of the results.

The Domestic and Foreign Policy of Spain

By JAMES BROSSA

THE attitude of the Spanish Government and people during the world war is not easily to be understood by those who are only slightly acquainted with the psychology of the nation. Very rarely have newspapers or reviews given either an accurate or a thorough presentation of the state of mind of the Spanish people in wartime. Foreigners were inclined to look at the whole question from the standpoint of their own origins or predilections, while Spaniards at home, not being sufficiently in touch with tendencies prevailing in the great centres from which the more important intellectual, political, and diplomatic impulses arise, of necessity have had their own peculiar fashion of viewing and interpreting the European struggle. Leaving out of account the question of Alsace-Lorraine, a sentimental one for the French people, the Spaniards generally were inclined to regard the war as the result of a long rivalry between England and Germany which inevitably must end in an ordeal of battle. The Spanish people, like the majority in all countries of the world, were not sufficiently enlightened in regard to international politics to understand exactly the issues which were at stake. Moreover, allowance must be made for the great number of illiterate persons who were entirely unable to comprehend other aspects of the conflict besides that of the rivalry between the two great Empires. Unfortunately, it was the latter element of the population which provided the best-prepared ground for the seeds of the pro-German propaganda. Granting, however, the impossibility of expecting from the ignorant masses even a fair acquaintance with international problems, how is it, one may ask, that all the more enlightened classes in Spain were inclined to espouse the cause of Imperial Germany?

The reasons for such sympathy may be briefly summarized. In the first place, the Spanish Court was decidedly Austrian. The King of Spain, when receiving Ambassador Gerard after the relations between the United States and Germany

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had been broken, said, "Do not forget that besides being King of Spain, I am an Austrian Archduke." King Alfonso was powerless to oppose his mother, Queen Maria Christina. The Court circle supported her and the aristocracy followed her lead. Second, the army. With a few exceptions, the professional soldiers of all the European and Latin American countries were pro-German. Third, the church. The Spanish clergy have always been hostile to France. Owing to the disestablishment of the church in France by the Cabinets of Waldeck-Rousseau and Combes, Catholic opinion in Spain nourished a deep enmity towards the neighboring nation; while the Ferrer affair filled up the sour cup and intensified the Spanish influences which wished ill to France. Fourth, the faculties of the Spanish universities belong, as a rule, to another age; they have very little influence on the national mind, since that is essentially formed through the education given by the religious orders. One has to reckon also with the political world. The Spanish Parliament, acting as a kind of trustee of neutrality, became stifled. All the monarchist parties joined in forming a *union sacrée* of silence, and for four years it was impossible to deal in Parliament with international politics. Moreover, the influence of Austria was insidious and that of Germany overwhelming. The result was that Parliament, the press, the clergy, the army, office-holders, and diplomats—all the pillars of the state, in fact—were infected by the Austro-German influence and propaganda.

So far as the diplomacy of the Allies is concerned, one would prefer not to dwell upon it, since it was really an unending series of blunders, being chiefly directed towards the conquest of the pro-German classes of Spanish society. Allied diplomacy did not concern itself with pro-Ally opinion of the war, largely because of the fact that almost all the supporters of the Allies in Spain were enemies of existing Spanish institutions. Republicans, Catalanists, Nationalists of Catalonia and of Vasconia, separatists of every description, Socialists, and syndicalists, all were favorable to the Allied cause; but England and France paid no attention, the first because of the family relationship between the two royal houses, and because, in the upper circles of London, it was generally believed that the King of Spain found too many obstacles in his road to be able to keep his kingdom to a strict neutrality; and the latter because all French propaganda in Spain was carried on through Catholic channels, the same which fifteen years before had thrown discredit upon the French nation. Eager to secure the support of the upper classes of Spanish society, French and English propaganda neglected all relations with the intellectual and political elements which were fighting at home for the very principles for which France and England stood in the war.

As a result, Señor Dato's type of neutrality was in reality a sham benevolence towards the Central Empires, owing either to his weakness of character or to some proclivities which history will sometime make known. Señor Dato, while apparently exhibiting pro-Ally feelings and trying to win the confidence of the Cabinets of Paris and London, in fact gave every facility to Prince Ratibor to extend German influence in Spain. Señor Prieto and Señor Alba have been too colorless and lacking in assertiveness to deal properly with Ministerial work in war-time. Everybody knows that the former is an official who is at the service of the monarchy at all costs, and that the second is in reality a business man in politics. As to Count Romanones, his psychology is rather complicated. His power is that of the astute man who, because of his enormous fortune, believes himself to be entitled to a political position which in fact he does not deserve. His attitude towards the war has certainly been one of foresight, and his sympathy for the Allies was undoubtedly sincere. He had the honor of being an object of hatred with the German and Austrian Embassies to the Spanish Court, and, in consequence, with all pro-German people. But as he lacks a strong personality and has never had a clear insight into the needs or the future of Spain, his work as a Minister is of no real importance. During the war he took no steps towards relieving the hard economic conditions into which the war was bringing the Spanish people, and although himself a shrewd business man, he had no practical policy for lightening the sufferings of the poor. Moreover, his lack of willingness in these matters is equal to his ignorance.

Señor Maura had no responsibility for the direction of the official policy, but he did have a strong influence over the ideas which prevailed among the classes who were aiming at the thorough Germanization of Spain. Excluded from office for a number of years on account of the Barcelona rebellion of 1909, he cherished ill-feeling towards the King—an open secret throughout Spain. In sentiment he was a thorough Germanophile, and his party, one of the most thoroughly controlled that ever existed, shared the sentiment; but the hope of being some day recalled to power kept him wavering constantly in attitude and mind.

The whole political situation in Spain, in fact, was subjected to a general belief that the German army was unconquerable. From the King of Spain down to the last lackey of any official bureau, German propaganda was successful; nobody expected that the Allies were going to have a striking, definitive, or swift victory. The surprise of all classes of people in Spain, accordingly, was very great when they saw the fall of the Central Empires. Spanish opinion was shattered. Supporters of the Spanish throne felt that that, too, was trembling. The ruling classes had relied confidently on Germany and Austria to keep Spanish opinion in the path which it had previously followed. The Allied Cabinets knew very well that the King, who had never been thoroughly pro-Ally, clung even more tenaciously to the German cause after the utterances of President Wilson, in the spring of 1917, regarding the dynastic situation in Europe. King Alfonso did not like that allusion. However, it cannot be denied that, owing to the pro-German press, most people in Spain knew nothing about the American effort, and even in some Parliamentary circles there was no great confidence in it. If the Spanish people generally were lacking in a fair knowledge of the French resistance, of the martyrdom of Belgium and Serbia, or of English coöperation, it was still more difficult for them to obtain an adequate or favorable view of American intervention in the war.

The success of the Allies created confusion in official quarters, and all the personages who, not being too much compromised by their pro-German proclivities, were able to launch new policies, were eager to take advantage of the new international situation. Count Romanones, keener than any of his fellow-Ministers in a Cabinet which represented all parties, made public a declaration addressed to President Wilson. His colleagues were taken by surprise, and as it was impossible to hold together so many different interests under one programme, the Cabinet split. At the time of the armistice, Count Romanones knew very well that the King of Spain was eager to abandon the isolation in which the Spanish monarchy, deprived of all the flattering

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prospects which it had been nourishing on account of the offers made by Germany in case the latter were successful, was about to be left by the peace. A new link was accordingly created between the Crown and Count Romanones. Notorious pro-Germans in official quarters encouraged Count Romanones, who presently asked an appointment to the United States. As Germany had invited the intervention of the President under the fourteen points, the Spanish monarchy, which did not feel inclined to apologize openly to the Cabinets of Paris and London, had to reveal its plight of being conquered without having fought, and of asking the interposition of President Wilson in order to be admitted to some of the peace negotiations and, if possible, to a seat at the Peace Conference. Needless to say, nothing came of it.

Count Romanones cannot say with Disraeli, "I bring peace with honor." What he brings instead is smiles and flowers from banquets. The impression prevails in well-informed quarters that discussions have been entered into concerning Spanish interests in Morocco, but the outcome depends, thus far, upon the colonial policy of France and the future prospects of England in northern and western Africa, both of which are entirely antagonistic to Spanish plans in Morocco. Accordingly, owing to the reluctance of the Spanish people to undertake any military conquest and the unpopularity of Spanish officials and the Spanish army in the matter of colonization, the Spanish Government has to face a situation almost impossible to solve.

Germany had offered to Spain Gibraltar, the French zone in Morocco, and Portugal. There is in Spain a militarist party which desires to recover the prestige lost in the Spanish-American War, and the German offers became the basis of a new Spanish militarism. That programme has gone to pieces, but the influence of the militarist party continues, and accounts for all the Ministerial changes of the past two years.

King Alfonso has had throughout his life an eager desire to build up an army absolutely attached to his person. He was thoroughly wedded to the conquest of Morocco, and it is no exaggeration to say that his future fortune as a ruler depended largely on this colonial adventure. The army looked upon the matter as its *raison d'être* and as a preparation for further undertakings, but with the plans now ascribed to France and England, the Spanish army will be reduced to the small function of supporting the throne. In the army itself, however, there is great discontent because of favoritism in the granting of rewards to officials, an evil which has prevailed for the last decade. As a result, while a short time ago the Spanish army was monarchist, at present it is divided. Twice the Spanish King has felt his throne trembling. The first time was when the widespread movement in military circles gave the country the impression that both the Crown and the army had lost confidence in one another. The second was when the victory of the Allies had planted in the mind of the population the idea of the King's abdication. These storms seem now to have passed away. But there remains the admitted powerlessness of the present state organization to deal with the problem of regenerating the Spanish people.

I have purposely left to the last the burning question in Spanish politics—that of home rule for Catalonia. The Catalonian question exercises a great influence in the development of Spain. The capital, Barcelona, has a population of more than one million. The Catalan region contributes at least one-third of the national revenue. The state gives back in services less than one-fourth of what it receives. Catalonia has never merged its historical individuality in the unity of Spain—that artificial unity which has been the chief reason for the historical failures of the Spanish kingdom. The struggle for unity in religion, in government, in language, in colonial rule, accounts for the disastrous decadence of the Spanish character. Catalonia is, indeed, a rebellious country. It believes that its traditions, its language, its particular rights, and its economic spirit entitle it to self-government. The central Government has always dreaded this longing for autonomy, a longing which Spaniards outside of Catalonia interpret as a desire for independence. Moreover, owing to the racial and historical links between Catalonia and parts of southern France, the Spaniards are afraid of a possible understanding between the Catalan people and France. This, however, is absurd. France has always repudiated any separatist tendency in Catalonia, and those who favor annexation to France are too few in number to be important.

During the war the Catalan people have been the most pro-Ally of all the peoples of the Peninsula. The reason is that almost all of Catalonia is liberal, republican, democratic, Socialist, or syndicalist. The King of Spain never visits the four provinces which comprise the old Kingdom of Catalonia; he feels himself quite a stranger there. But if the masses of the Catalan people were pro-Ally, the bourgeois party, the *Liga Regionalista*, was thoroughly pro-German. Like the majority of Spanish politicians, the leaders of that group, wielding a powerful Parliamentary influence, were strongly desirous of the victory of Germany. One of its leaders blamed Belgium from the first for its attitude toward the German army. The Allied victory found the upper classes of Catalonia in the same confusion as was found at Madrid. Notwithstanding that the Catalan feeling was so favorable to the Allies, the relation of Catalan politics to the general pro-German subjection of Spain has made impossible any concessions to the Catalan people. Catalonia has nothing to expect from the Peace Conference at Paris. France prefers a Spain unified after the traditional Bourbon pattern. When Count Romanones went to meet President Wilson on behalf of the King, some people were led to believe that the problem of Spanish interests in Africa would be solved; but they were at the same time eager to know that the Allies were not disposed to make any concession to the Catalan people.

In the course of several meetings held at Barcelona to celebrate the armistice, the English Ambassador made a number of remarks about the conduct of England toward Catalonia during the War of Succession. Until the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, the Catalans had supported the Coalition against the House of France; then, as Macaulay says at the end of his essay, England gave up the Catalans to the vengeance of Philip in a manner inconsistent with humanity and national honor. The Catalans have forgiven that, and while the Spanish army as a whole was hoping for the triumph of the Austrians and Germans, 14,000 Catalans enlisted spontaneously on the side of France. The Catalan regiment was the first to obtain the *fourragère*, and its fame still remains in Allied military circles. As a matter of fact, the sentiment of the Catalans is in some respects more important than that of almost any other neutral people. It is true that, owing to the official neutrality of the Spanish Government, the Catalan people collectively were unable to give much support to the Allies; but the fact that 14,000

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Catalans, of whom only 2,000 remain, joined in the war is convincing proof of the state of Catalan feeling.

Over against a fact which for the history of Catalonia is so illustrious, one must place the hostile feeling of the Spanish army for everything Catalan. The army has always been unfriendly to the granting of any concession to the Catalan people. The army professes a monopoly of Spanish patriotism, and as it regards the Catalans as sympathetic with France, it sticks to the policy of assimilation. The Regionalist party, with great short-sightedness, has misunderstood the war and severed Catalonia from the Allies, but the Catalan people are quite ready to abandon the old Regionalist party in a spirit akin to that which has produced in Ireland the split between Nationalists and Sinn Feiners. The English and American colonies in Spain have well understood the moral secession which the war has occasioned in Catalonia, and at feasts and public ceremonies the Allied flags have hung close to the flag of Catalonia. Foreigners, in other words, have identified the feelings of Catalonia with the significance of the Allied victory. A prominent member of the American colony has published a translation in the Catalan language of President Wilson's message enunciating the famous fourteen points.

Catalonia will not receive at present from the Allied Powers any satisfaction, but the Catalan people are thoroughly convinced that the new movement which shall lead to the transformation of Spain must start with them. The social unrest which prevails at the present time in the industrial districts of Catalonia naturally lessens a good deal the importance of the home rule question. The propertied classes see a kind of evolutionary Bolshevism applied to the disagreement between employers and employees, and as Spain is lacking in sound social legislation, the change is going on without state interference. The great captains of industry, who have profited enormously out of the war, and most of whom were pro-German, are obliged, from fear of graver consequences, to capitulate before the terms proposed by a powerful labor coalition throughout Catalonia. It is this part of Spain that is pointing the way; the rest will follow by and by.

Spain as a state may be likened to a body from which, for many reasons, life has disappeared. It is impossible that it should remain as it is. The different peoples which compose the state still retain some energy, but in order to give them a new stimulus it is necessary to change the structure of the state. This is the lesson which Spain has received from the war. Spain was not entitled to membership at the Peace Conference, but from all the other national and social problems with which Europe is contending it can draw new light. If it will apply the experience to the approaching conflicts, the nation may still avoid the upheaval with which it is threatened. The two most important influences, the Catalan movement and the labor movement, are extremely active in Barcelona. Thus far they have not been closely connected, for they represent different tendencies and to a certain extent are in mutual opposition, although not antagonistic. The day when they unite will change the inner character of the Spanish state, for while they do not spring from the same source, they respond to the same influences. The blood which 12,000 Catalans have spent upon the battle-field is the same that is sustaining both movements, and when the moment for union comes they will attack the obsolescent organization which now resembles, in its imposing and dreadful immobility, only a traditional shadow.

Correspondence

Bolshevism and the General Strike in Switzerland

Zurich, February 19

THE course of the Bolshevist general strike in Switzerland in November, 1918, has more than a local significance. The direct influence of the event upon other countries was practically *nil*. It is true that the German Government had hoped, while the war was going on, to strengthen the Socialist-Defeatist tendency in the Entente states by the help of the Maximalist unrest in Switzerland; but when the general strike came on in Switzerland the armistice had already been concluded, and foreign countries neither intervened as interested parties nor were they themselves affected by the strike. For any one, however, who is concerned with the future of the Socialist movement, the typical importance of the strike is even greater on that account.

It has nowhere been shown so clearly as in Switzerland that socialism, no matter how important its efforts may be in the main, fails as soon as it turns its attention to the land. This is especially true where, as is the case in Switzerland, the control of agriculture does not rest in the hands of great land-owners, but is held exclusively by small peasants who live on their own small farms, or, for a moderate rental, manage a small estate, and who employ permanently one or two farm laborers at the most. What can socialism offer to such a peasant population? More land, as in Russia or Hungary or North Germany? All the land of Switzerland that is fit for farming is already fully utilized. Cheaper labor? Swiss agriculture already suffers from a serious shortage of labor, although the shortage is not so great as in America; and if the wages of industrial workers were raised to the level of those of Government officials it would be no easier, but rather harder, to hold labor to agriculture, for the reason that the attraction of the city would have been increased. A favorable customs policy? The Socialists demand free importation of food, which means that the Swiss peasant, working under a tariff system less favorable in this respect than that of the farmer in other countries, might suffer financial injury. The likelihood, accordingly, that the peasants would be won over to socialism is entirely negligible. The Social Democrats have been able in popular elections to secure a majority in some of the larger cities and industrial regions, but in the Swiss Parliament they constituted only a small minority which has not once been able, even by union with other groups of the Opposition, to exert any practical influence.

Still another circumstance, due to the peculiar character of the Swiss population, tends to enhance this weakness. While the peasantry in Switzerland is purely Swiss, an extraordinarily large proportion of the working class is of foreign extraction, and, in consequence, has no voice in either political or military matters. Even though many alien workers have become Swiss citizens (almost all the Socialist leaders in Switzerland are either foreigners or of foreign parentage), the fact remains that the highest places in the army and the leading positions in the Federal Administration remain in Swiss, that is to say, in non-Socialist, hands. The real political power, moreover, is held by representatives

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of the middle class in the towns and in the country.

The steps which the Socialist party took in the years just before the war, and particularly during the present year, were admittedly designed to obscure this condition in the eyes of superficial, and especially of young, observers. Since higher prices set in, an increasing number of withdrawals from the dominant Liberal party have taken place. Originally the party was not represented by any one class, nor does it wish to be now; but when, in consequence of the increased cost of living, the wages question began to be a vital one not only for industrial workers but also for public officials and technical and commercial employees, it became apparent that the Liberal party, which consisted mainly of business men, manufacturers, and artisans, was not well-disposed towards reform. The Liberals did not wish to increase sufficiently the pay either of the private employees or of public officials, because they shrank from the financial sacrifice which such increase involved; nor did they wish to break with the peasants, whose demands tended to raise the cost of living, because they needed the peasant vote against the Social Democrats. Regardless of this, however, the Socialists declared in favor of improved conditions for these various classes, with the result that almost all the minor officials, and presently the younger technical workers and bank employees, went over to the Social Democrats. Many, doubtless, were quite right in doing so. The small pay of the clerical employees of banks, for example, was almost a scandal, and the disinterested observer must admit that the Socialists were right when they poured contempt upon the "paternal" relations between employers and employees which the party had disturbed.

Naturally, the situation did not become any more satisfactory during the war. A salary which previously was barely sufficient for necessities now became entirely insufficient. Neither public nor private employers showed the least inclination to remedy the distress in any adequate way. The Socialist party, accordingly, increased enormously, and among the commercial employees an organization was formed which adopted the principle of the class struggle and used Socialist weapons. The strike of the bank employees at Zurich, on October 1, 1918, conducted according to all the rules of labor strikes, was especially significant; but the strike was a complete failure. The successes of the Social-Democratic party so far went to the heads of the younger element and of some doctrinaires among the leaders as to make them believe that they already had the power in their own hands. But the war, if it had strengthened the Socialist party and Socialist thought in middle-class circles, had also increased in no less degree the power of their unyielding antagonists, the peasants. During the war the Swiss peasants did not have an entirely easy time of it. They lacked many necessities—above all, oats for their horses; and the need of food led to some urgent and unprofitable changes in agriculture, the most important being the return to grain-growing in many places where that industry had been replaced by the more lucrative industry of stock-raising. The peasants, too, had to contend with the rise in wages and the increase in the cost of building materials. On the other hand, it is clear that some considerable gains offset these disadvantages. The bank statements show that in many places the peasants were able to pay off mortgages on their land. Any one who today visits certain agricultural districts of Switzerland which are little favored by nature would discover hardly a farm-house which has not been enlarged during the war by some kind of addition—a new barn, or something of the sort. To this is also to be added the actual increase in power arising from the fact that, as soon as the frontiers were closed to the importation of food, the peasants enjoyed a monopoly in the feeding of the population. Whereas before the war the peasants were able at the most to exert economic pressure upon the cities only by shutting off the supply of fresh milk, they now had the city population, including the industrial workers, completely at their mercy. In the summer of 1918, when the railways were threatened with a general strike, the peasants announced that they wished to discontinue the delivery of food to the cities; and there is reason to believe that this argument was by no means the least important influence in averting the strike.

It would be doing an injustice to the intelligence of the experienced leaders of the Social-Democratic party in Switzerland to suppose that their eyes were closed to this condition. Many members of the party, in addition to the leaders, were indisposed to resort to force or even to declare a transport strike, since that in any case would only make matters worse instead of better. But the younger element, fed with deceptive reports from Russia, got the upper hand. The old leaders were pushed aside and control fell into the hands of the revolutionists, or Bolshevists, of whom the best that can be said is that when the minority, like the Swiss Social Democracy, wishes to obtain power at once, no other method is at its disposal but the one employed by Lenine.

The first effort of the insurgents was directed towards getting possession of the armories. Unreliable as their information about Russia was, it nevertheless did not escape them that the mastery of the Bolsheviki rested largely upon the fact that they had taken over from the former régime a complete military equipment, including artillery; and the possession of the arsenals was accordingly thought of as the first step towards the overthrow of some of the cantonal Governments, and also, apparently, of the Federal Parliament. By chance the cantonal Government of Zurich got wind of the proposal, and on November 9 appealed to the Federal Government for help. The request met with a prompt response, and Zurich and other large cities were garrisoned by Federal troops. In reality the Socialist cause was already lost. Not only was the calling out of troops unattended by the slightest disturbance, but the Government had had the foresight to call out as far as possible only battalions composed of peasants; and a possible refusal on the part of the armed forces to act was thus eliminated from the calculation.

In the next stage, also, reason prevailed. The Socialists naturally could not allow the calling out of troops, by means of which "labor had been provoked in the most wanton manner," to pass quietly, and a 24-hour protest strike was declared. The smooth course of this "gesture" intoxicated the young Socialist element in Zurich, the largest and most cosmopolitan city in Switzerland. The young Socialists declared that, under the circumstances, a general strike gave the greater promise of success, and that the prolonged protest strike must be turned into a general strike which should be continued until all the demands of the Social Democrats had been granted. The leaders of the party acquiesced in these demands. A committee met at Olten, an important railway centre, and presented the demands of the workers to the Federal Parliament. The strike failed completely. It is true that for several days (from November 9 to Novem-

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ber 14) public business, the mail service, and the railways were at a stand-still and that most of the private business men in the cities were forced to side with the strikers. The Federal Parliament, however, did not yield; and although it agreed to certain specific demands of the Olten committee—for example, the demand for an earlier election of members of the National Council—there was no talk of capitulating to the strikers. The strike failed to accomplish its purpose and was called off by the Olten committee on November 14. The outcome was due in the main to two causes. In the first place, the army showed no reluctance to obey orders, and a considerable portion of the work which was left undone by the striking civil officials was taken over by the soldiers. Military automobiles, for example, took the place of the post office and carried letters and papers from place to place. Citizens, too, organized. It is interesting to note also that the overwhelming majority of the students ranged themselves throughout on the side of order. Such action was not for them a matter of course, for Socialist ideas are very widespread among the Swiss students, and a number of influential professors at the Swiss universities are thoroughly in accord with Socialist doctrines. In spite of this, however, the students to a man worked against the Bolshevist dictatorship. In Zurich, for example, the mail was distributed by students under military escort. Even more characteristic, perhaps, was the action of the students in placing themselves at the service of the anti-Bolshevist press. The leaders of the strike, following the Russian fashion, had declared a strike against all non-Socialist newspaper establishments, and only the Bolshevist *Volksrecht* was allowed to continue. The representatives of the different Zurich newspapers met at the office of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* and there made up a paper, the *Bürgerliche Presse*, which aided considerably in quieting the population, who were disturbed by the Tartar-like news of the *Volksrecht*. The *Bürgerliche Presse* was then distributed by students, and it was owing to them that the people of the city were not kept in the belief that the Bolshevist world revolution had already conquered a considerable part of the outside world.

Speaking generally, the situation has not been as much changed by the strike as one might expect. Of course, there is no enduring guarantee that local disturbances will not break out in some specially dangerous places. All things considered, however, the outlook for the Socialists is no more favorable than it was in November, but rather the contrary. Further, there is no prospect that the next strike will be conducted on any broader lines. In many localities certain groups of the transport employees have withdrawn from the unions, the latter having compelled them to take part in the strike. On the other hand, events have at last opened the eyes of many people in the cities to the fact that things cannot go on in the old way. Many industrial leaders have come out for reforms which would have horrified them a short time ago. How many of these reforms can be carried out depends, of course, upon future economic conditions. The economic future of Switzerland is absolutely obscure, and it is not unlikely that a period of general unemployment lies ahead. In that event, the country would have to reckon with a new Bolshevist general strike. If such a strike occurs, it may take a less moderate course than before, for groups which, like the academic circles, stood aloof in November, may then join the ranks of the strikers.

EDUARD FUETER.

Documents

An Official Representative of Russia

THE documents printed below comprise (1) the letter of L. C. A. K. Martens, official representative in the United States of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, dated at New York, March 18, which accompanied the submission of his credentials to the Secretary of State; and (2) a Memorandum accompanying the letter. A summary of the Memorandum was handed to representatives of the press on March 20. Mr. Martens, by profession an engineer, was for several years the representative in this country of the Demidoff Iron and Steel Works in Russia. Mr. Nuorteva, the secretary of the Bureau established by Mr. Martens, was for some time the head of the Finnish Information Bureau at New York, and has also represented the interests of the Russian Soviet Government. The temporary offices of the Bureau are at 299 Broadway, New York.

HONORABLE ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: I have the honor to hand you herewith original credentials of my appointment as representative of the Socialist Federated Soviet Republic of Russia in the United States, together with an English translation of the same.

I also have the honor to submit a Memorandum of the present political and economic conditions of Soviet Russia, based upon information supplied to me by my Government, and, furthermore, I enclose a translation of the Constitution of the Federated Soviet Republic of Russia.

Holding myself entirely at the disposal of the United States Government for any additional information or for any conference, official or unofficial,

I am, Sir, very respectfully yours,
(Signed) L. A. MARTENS,
Representative in the United States.
S. NUORTEVA,
Secretary of the Bureau.

MEMORANDUM

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was established on the 6th of November, 1917, by a spontaneous uprising of the toiling masses of Russia. Its Government, the Council of the People's Commissars, is a Government controlled by and responsible to all such members of the population of Russia as are willing to perform useful work, physical or mental. Those who, while not being unable to work, deliberately refuse to exercise their productive abilities, choosing to live on the fruits of the labor of other people, are eliminated from participation in the control of my Government.

Under present conditions those who are willing to work for the common good number at least 90 per cent. of the adult population in the area controlled by the Soviets. All such people have full political and civil rights.

The basis of citizenship in Russia being industrial and economic rather than political, and the social system being of such a nature that every person engaged in useful social labor is bound to participate in public affairs, the percentage of people directly participating in the management of society in Soviet Russia is higher than has been the case until now anywhere in the world. The Russian Soviet Republic affords thereby the widest possible field for a real expression of a conscious popular will. While the Soviet Government is a Government of the working class, the abolition of exploitation of labor and the elimination thereby of class division creates a productive com-

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munity in which all able inhabitants are bound to become useful workers who have full political rights. My Government thus becomes the expression of fully one hundred per cent. of the people. It should also be noted that political rights are granted in Russia to every inhabitant engaged in useful work, though he be not a citizen of Russia but only temporarily working there.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was rapidly acclaimed by the vast majority of the laboring people throughout the former Empire of Russia. It has maintained itself in the face of manifold plots and opposition on the part of small groups of the former ruling classes, who in many cases enlisted foreign help and who employed the most unscrupulous methods in their fight against the Soviet institutions. Yet nowhere in Russia could such elements of their own accord organize any noticeable resistance to the popular will, as expressed by the Soviet Government. Only in sparsely populated outlying districts and in such of those districts where our opponents had access to foreign military help, has it been possible for them to maintain any organized opposition and to wrest from the control of Soviet Russia some territory. Today, after sixteen months of existence, the Russian Soviet Republic finds itself more securely established than at any previous time.

During the current year the Soviet Government has been particularly successful in retaking vast territories wrested from its control during the preceding months. By February, 1919, the Soviet troops on the northern front had retaken the city of Shenkursk and adjoining territory. On the eastern front they have lost Perm, but they have regained Pereufa, Ufa, Sterlitamak, Bellbey, Orenburg, and Uralsk. The railway connection with central Asia is at present in the hands of the Soviet Government. On the southern front they have taken the railway stations at Pavorino, Alexikovo, Polovaya, Kalatsk, and Begutchar, which have assured them of a control over the railways of that region, while on the southeastern front the Ukrainian Soviet troops threaten the army of Krasnov from Ugansk in the rear. In the Ukraine the Soviet troops have acquired Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, Krementchug, Tchernigov, and Obrutch. In the Baltic provinces and in Lithuania the Soviet power has been extended to a great part of the territory formerly occupied by Germans, with the large cities of Minsk, Vilna, Riga, Mitau, Dvinsk, Windau, and others in the control of adherents of the Soviet.

These last-mentioned successes are largely due to the fact that, after the evacuation by the German armies of the territories wrested from Russia during the war, and by the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which the Soviet Republic was forced to sign under duress, the workers in such territories everywhere are rising to support the ideals and the social order represented by the Soviet Republic.

The resentment against former ruling classes, who did not hesitate at inviting foreign military help against their own people, has evinced itself by an ever-increasing popular support of the Soviet Government, even among such people as at first were either hostile or indifferent to the Soviet rule. Men and women of literary or technical training and of other intellectual accomplishments are now in great numbers rallying to the support of the Soviet Government, and coöperate with it in all administrative branches. The peasantry of Russia, the great majority of whom from the very outset were supporting the workers' revolution, have become more consciously attached to our social system, realizing that in the support of the workers' republic lies the only guarantee for their remaining in control of the land which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The economic isolation of Russia, which so far has prevented the Soviet Government from adequately supplying the peasants with implements that they so badly need, is, of course, causing hardship among the peasantry; yet the peasants generally do not place the blame for this privation at the door of the Soviet Government, well realizing that it is due to the deliberate interference in the affairs of the Russian people by hostile groups, and that a remedy for this privation is not a weakening but a strengthening of the Soviet power. They fully realized—and their experience in such instances where counter-revolutionary forces temporarily succeeded in overthrowing Soviet institutions clearly demonstrated it—that an overthrow of the Soviet rule, if possible at all, would lead to the establishment of a tyrannical, reactionary, bloody autocracy.

The remarkable improvement in the internal situation of Soviet Russia appears from the negotiations which the members of the former Constituent Assembly have begun with the Soviet Government. Representatives of the former Constituent Assembly, as Tchernov, Rakitnikov, Sivatitzki, Volski, Bourevoy, Tchernenkov, Antonov, all of whom are also members of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary party, recently arrived at Moscow to participate in a conference with the Soviet Government with the view of giving support to our Republic. This conference has led to an understanding whereby these well-known Social Revolutionists and former bitter opponents have ceased their opposition and declared themselves with great emphasis against the Entente intervention in Russia.

An improvement of the Soviet Government's relations with the elements formerly hostile to it in Russian society is also indicated by the change in the attitude of the Mensheviki, whose conference has likewise protested against the Entente intervention.

The army of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has been successfully organized and numbers today over a million men. A system of universal military training has been inaugurated which steadily supplies the army with reinforcements, with the view of creating a force numbering by the end of the current year three million men. The forces of the Government are led partly by officers of the former Russian armies who have proved their allegiance to the Soviet Government, and partly by officers developed from the rank and file by the military educational institutions established by my Government. The Commissariat of War has been successful in establishing and maintaining a strict discipline within the ranks of the army—a discipline not based on fear of punishment or on docile submission, but on the ardent conviction of the workers from whose ranks the army is recruited that it is their privilege as well as their duty to defend their social achievements against encroachments from any source. This same conviction of the necessity of the defence of our revolutionary achievements has made it possible for us, in spite of all economic obstacles, efficiently to organize the production of military supplies.

The Soviet Government inherited a legacy of utter financial disruption created by four years of war and a year of revolution. This state of affairs, and also the necessity of coördinating the financial system of Russia with the new industrial and economic system represented by my Government, necessitated a complete reorganization of the financial institutions on the basis of common property rights. This reorganization, which aims at exchanging the money system for a system representing labor value, is still in the state of formation. Regardless thereof the Soviet Government, in as far as financial relations with and obligations to other countries are concerned, is prepared to offer modes of financial transactions suitable for the financial systems of other countries.

The period up till the establishment of the Soviet Government also badly disrupted the machinery for production and distribution. The Soviet Government inaugurated a system of public control and ownership of industries. It has actually taken over many important branches of industry, and has established the control of the Supreme Council of National Economy over all industries. Great handicaps have been faced because of the obstructionist methods of our opponents, lack of raw material and machinery, and because of the general confusion unavoidably coincident with the gigantic reorganization of the industrial life. In spite of these great handicaps, various branches of industry have been reëstablished, even with an increase of productive efficiency. Many branches of industry, however, have not so far been able to recuperate, because of lack of raw

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material and lack of machinery. The needs of such industries offer a wide field for business transactions with Russia by other countries.

The state of railway communications at the outset of the Soviet régime was very unsatisfactory. The demands, first of the demobilization of the old army and later of military operations against counter-revolutionary attacks, taxed the capacity of our railways and left little opportunity for reconstruction work in this field. The Soviet Government during the past year nevertheless has managed to build and to complete the building of about 2,000 versts of new railways. It has also paid great attention to the construction of other means of communication, such as canals, roads, etc., and is at the present time planning work along these lines on a large scale, which will also offer great opportunities for foreign trade.

The people of Russia, kept for hundreds of years away from sources of popular education, have made it one of the main tasks of my Government to reorganize the school system with a view to the greatest possible achievements in the field of popular education. In this respect extensive work has been carried on throughout Russia during the past year. Tens of thousands of new primary schools, vocational schools, workers' universities, and lecture courses, especially courses offering agricultural instruction, have been established and maintained at great expense on the part of the Soviet Government, and the field of the educational activities has been extended to include the making of the treasures of the arts and sciences as easily accessible to the people as possible.

All these efforts, incomplete as they still are, however, have given the Russian people sufficient evidence of the earnestness of the desire and of the ability of the Soviet Government to fill the needs of the population, and they have largely contributed to the abatement of opposition. Inasmuch as opposition has ceased in the form of active resistance to the Soviet Government, it has become possible to assuage extraordinary measures such as censorship, martial law, etc.

Much prejudice has been created against the Soviet Government by the circulation of false reports about the nature of the institutions and the measures undertaken by Soviet Russia. One of the most frequent allegations has been that the rule of the Soviets is one of violence and murder. In this connection I want to call your attention to the following passages in the note sent to the President of the United States on the 24th of December, 1918, by Maxim Litvinoff, on behalf of the Soviet Government in Russia.

The chief aim of the Soviets is to secure for the toiling majority of Russian people economic liberty, without which political liberty is of no avail to them. For eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment, which abolition had been part of their programme. It was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic acts against popular members of the Government and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings against their former oppressors. For Allied invasion of Russian territory not only compelled the Soviets against their own will to militarize the country anew, and to divert their energies and resources so necessary to the economic reconstruction of Russia, exhausted by four years of war, to the defence of the country, but also cut off the vital source of foodstuffs and raw material, exposing the population to most terrible privation bordering on starvation.

I wish to emphasize that the so-called red terror, which is so grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause but the direct outcome and result of Allied intervention. The Russian workers and peasants fail to understand how foreign countries, which never dreamed of interfering with Russian affairs when Czarist barbarism and militarism ruled supreme, and which even supported that régime, feel justified in intervening in Russia now when the working people themselves, after decades of strenuous struggling and countless sacrifices, succeeded in taking the power and destiny of their country into their own hands, aiming at nothing but their own happiness and international brotherhood, constituting no menace to other nations.

In another passage of the same note Mr. Litvinoff states as follows:

The best means for the termination of violence in Russia would be to reach a settlement which would include the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Russia, and the cessation of direct or indirect asistance to such groups in Russia as still indulge in futile hopes of an armed revolt against the workers' Government, but who even themselves would not think of such a possibility if they could not reckon on assistance from abroad.

The great work of social reconstruction inaugurated by the Soviet Government as the executors of the people's will has been hampered by the necessity of military defence against opponents of our Republic, and by the economic isolation of Soviet Russia which has been one of the weapons of their attacks; together with deliberate disrupting of our means of communication with important food centres, as well as destruction of food stores; and all this has greatly increased the sufferings of our people. By tremendous efforts and by efficient consolidation of all economic means at its disposal, my Government has been able to stave off the worst features of this situation. The fact that economic disruption together with starvation and lack of all the bare necessities of life prevails as poignantly, and more so, in such parts of the former Russian Empire as have been for some time in the hands of the opponents of our Republic and have had contact with the outside world, clearly testifies that the Soviet rule is much more capable of insuring means of existence to the people than any pretenders to the power in Russia.

In view of all the above-stated, I venture to say that the Soviet Government has given all such proofs of stability, permanence, popular support, and constructive ability as ever have been required from any Government in the world as a basis for political recognition and commercial intercourse. I am confident that the people outside of Russia are becoming as convinced as the Russian people themselves of the futility of efforts to overthrow the Soviet Government. Such efforts lead only to unnecessary bloodshed, and, if successful in any part of Russia, lead to temporary establishment of bloody, monarchical autocracy which cannot maintain itself, and even the temporary existence of which will lead to bloodshed and misery.

Fully realizing that economic prosperity of the world at large, including Soviet Russia, depends on uninterrupted interchange of products between various countries, the Soviet Government of Russia desires to establish commercial relations with other countries, and especially with the United States. The Soviet Government is prepared at once to buy from the United States vast amounts of finished products, on terms of payment fully satisfactory to parties concerned. My Government also desires to reach an agreement in respect to exports from Russia of raw material needed by other countries and of which considerable surpluses exist in Russia. In order to reëstablish the economic integrity of Russia and to insure uninterrupted commercial relations, the Russian workers and peasants, as Mr. Litvinoff stated in the above-quoted note, "are prepared to go to any length of concessions as far as the real interests of other countries are concerned," of course with the understanding that no agreements entered into should impair the sovereignty of the Russian people, as expressed by the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

On the part of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic there thus exist no obstacles to the establishment of proper relations with other countries, especially with the United States. The Soviet Government of Russia is willing to open its doors to citizens of other countries for peaceful pursuit of opportunity, and it invites any scrutiny and investigation of its conditions, which I feel sure will prove that peace and prosperity in Russia and elsewhere, in so far as the prosperity of Russia affects other countries, may be attained by the cessation of the present policy of non-intercourse with Soviet Russia, and by the establishment of material and intellectual intercourse.

Russia is now prepared to purchase in the American market great quantities of the following commodities, commensurate

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with the needs of 150,000,000 people: railway supplies, agricultural implements and machinery, factory machinery, tools, mining machinery and supplies, electrical supplies, printing machinery, textile manufactures, shoes and clothing, fats and canned meats, rubber goods, typewriters and office supplies, automobiles and trucks, chemicals, medical supplies, etc.

Russia is prepared to sell the following commodities: flax, hemp, hides, bristles, furs, lumber, grain, platinum, metals, and minerals.

The Russian Government, in the event of trade being opened with the United States, is prepared to place at once in banks in Europe and America gold to the amount of two hundred million dollars ($200,000,000) to cover the price of initial purchases.

To insure a basis for credits for additional Russian purchases in the United States, I suggest that detailed negotiations with my Government will evolve propositions fully acceptable for this purpose.

I am empowered by my Government to negotiate for the speedy opening of commercial relations for the mutual benefit of Russia and America, and I shall be glad to discuss details at the earliest opportunity.

The Austro-Hungarian Armistice

IN view of the great importance of recent events in Hungary, the text of the armistice terms imposed upon Austria-Hungary, as made public on November 4, is here reprinted.

I.

Military Clauses

1. The immediate cessation of hostilities by land, sea, and air.

2. Total demobilization of the Austro-Hungarian army and immediate withdrawal of all Austro-Hungarian forces operating on the front from the North Sea to Switzerland.

Within Austro-Hungarian territory, limited as in Clause 3 below, there shall only be maintained as an organized military force a maximum of twenty divisions, reduced to pre-war peace effectives.

Half the divisional, corps, and army artillery and equipment shall be collected at points to be indicated by the Allies and United States of America for delivery to them, beginning with all such material as exists in the territories to be evacuated by the Austro-Hungarian forces.

3. Evacuation of all territories invaded by Austria-Hungary since the beginning of war. Withdrawal within such periods as shall be determined by the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces on each front of the Austro-Hungarian armies behind a line fixed as follows:

From Piz Umbrail to the north of the Stelvio it will follow the crest of the Rhetian Alps up to the sources of the Adige and the Eisach, passing thence by Mounts Reschen and Brenner and the heights of Oetz and Ziller; the line thence turns south, crossing Mount Toblach, and meeting the present frontier of the Carnic Alps. It follows this frontier up to Mount Tarvis, and after Mount Tarvis the watershed of the Julian Alps by the Col of Predil, Mount Mangart, the Tricorno (Terglou), and the watershed of the Cols di Podberdo, Podlaniscam, and Idria. From this point the line turns south-east towards the Schneeberg, excluding the whole basin of the Save and its tributaries; from the Schneeberg it goes down towards the coast in such a way as to include Castua, Mattuglia, and Volosca in the evacuated territories.

It will also follow the administrative limits of the present province of Dalmatia, including to the north Licarica and Trivania and, to the south, territory limited by a line from the shore of Cape Planca to the summits of the watershed eastwards, so as to include in the evacuated area all the valleys and watercourses flowing towards Sebenico, such as the Cicola, Kerka, Butisnica, and their tributaries. It will also include all the islands in the north and west of Dalmatia, from Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Scherda, Maon, Pago, and Patadura in the north up to Meleda in the south, embracing Sant Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta, as well as the neighboring rocks and islets and Pelagosa, only excepting the islands of Great and Small Zirona, Bua, Solta, and Brazza.

All territories thus evacuated will be occupied by the troops of the Allies and of the United States of America.

All military and railway equipment of all kinds (including coal), belonging to or within these territories, to be left *in situ* and surrendered to the Allies according to special orders given by the Commanders-in-Chief of the forces of the associated Powers on the different fronts. No new destruction, pillage, or requisition to be done by enemy troops in the territories to be evacuated by them and occupied by the forces of the associated Powers.

4. The Allies shall have the right of free movement over all road and rail and waterways in Austro-Hungarian territory and of the use of the necessary Austrian and Hungarian means of transportation.

The armies of the associated Powers shall occupy such strategic points in Austria-Hungary at such times as they may deem necessary to enable them to conduct military operations or to maintain order.

They shall have the right of requisition on payment for the troops of the associated Powers wherever they may be.

5. Complete evacuation of all German troops within fifteen days, not only from the Italian and Balkan fronts, but from all Austro-Hungarian territory.

Internment of all German troops which have not left Austria-Hungary within that date.

6. The administration of the evacuated territories of Austria-Hungary will be entrusted to the local authorities under the control of the Allied and associated armies of occupation.

7. The immediate repatriation without reciprocity of all Allied prisoners of war and interned subjects, and of civil populations evacuated from their homes, on conditions to be laid down by the Commanders-in-Chief of the forces of the associated Powers on the various fronts.

8. Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from evacuated territory will be cared for by Austro-Hungarian personnel, who will be left on the spot with the medical material required.

II.

Naval Conditions

1. Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea, and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all Austro-Hungarian ships.

Notification to be made to neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the Allied and associated Powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

2. Surrender to the Allies and United States of America of fifteen Austro-Hungarian submarines, completed between the years 1910 and 1918, and of all German submarines which are in or may hereafter enter Austro-Hungarian territorial waters. All other Austro-Hungarian submarines to be paid off and completely disarmed, and to remain under the supervision of the Allies and United States of America.

3. Surrender to the Allies and United States of America, with their complete armament and equipment, of three battleships, three light cruisers, nine destroyers, twelve torpedo-boats, one minelayer, six Danube monitors, to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America. All other surface warships (including river craft) are to be concentrated in Austro-Hungarian naval bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America, and are to be paid off and completely disarmed and placed under the supervision of the Allies and United States of America.

4. Freedom of navigation to all warships and merchant ships of the Allied and associated Powers to be given in the Adriatic

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and up the River Danube and its tributaries in the territorial waters and territory of Austria-Hungary.

The Allies and associated Powers shall have the right to sweep up all minefields and obstructions, and the positions of these are to be indicated.

In order to insure the freedom of navigation on the Danube, the Allies and the United States of America shall be empowered to occupy or to dismantle all fortifications or defence works.

5. The existing blockade conditions set up by the Allied and associated Powers are to remain unchanged, and all Austro-Hungarian merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture, save exceptions which may be made by a commission nominated by the Allies and United States of America.

6. All naval aircraft are to be concentrated and immobilized in Austro-Hungarian bases to be designated by the Allies and United States of America.

7. Evacuation of all the Italian coasts and of all ports occupied by Austria-Hungary outside their national territory, and the abandonment of all floating craft, naval materials, equipment, and materials for inland navigation of all kinds.

8. Occupation by the Allies and the United States of America of the land and sea fortifications and the islands which form the defences, and of the dockyards and arsenal at Pola.

9. All merchant vessels held by Austria-Hungary belonging to the Allies and associated Powers to be returned.

10. No destruction of ships or of materials to be permitted before evacuation, surrender, or restoration.

11. All naval and mercantile marine prisoners of war of the Allied and associated Powers in Austro-Hungarian hands to be returned without reciprocity.

The Republic of Armenia

THE following memorandum, dated at Paris February 12, and signed by Mr. Anetis Aharoman, was handed to Premier Clemenceau for presentation to the Peace Conference. A brief cable summary of the memorandum was received in this country on March 20. According to the Press Bureau of the Armenian National Union of America, at New York, the proposed Armenian state will have an area of about 125,000 square miles and a population of about 4,300,000. Of the population, 2,500,000 are Armenian Christians, 500,000 are Christians of other nationalities, and 1,000,000 are Mohammedans.

The Republic of Armenia, in the Caucasus, born, like its Parliament, during the storm of war, has entrusted to me, as head of its delegation at the Peace Conference, and to my two colleagues, Dr. Chanaamian and M. Papadjanian, the task of making public the following facts.

The whole Armenian people, no matter in what country they were at the beginning of the war and since its first days, have engaged resolutely in the struggle, taking the part of the Entente; fighting on the west as well as on the east front; fighting at the side of the Russian troops, to whom they furnished a contingent of from 150,000 to 200,000 men; battling in the Caucasus, where some thousands of volunteers have done their duty; battling likewise in Palestine and in Syria.

The whole world knows that, in consequence of this sympathy for the cause of the Allies—a sympathy which showed itself so clearly in the active and effective part which the Armenians took in the military operations on all fronts, and by the orders of the Young Turk Government, which sought only for revenge—Turkish Armenia was devastated by massacres unparalleled in history, and by the deportation in a body of the entire Armenian population, who were driven towards Mesopotamia, where they found a death equally horrible.

More than a million Armenians were thus destroyed.

These facts are known everywhere, it is true, but what is not sufficiently known is the part which Caucasian Armenia has taken in the world war; the heroism and self-sacrifice with which, from the moment when, in consequence of the overthrow of Russia, the Russian troops, won over by the wave of Bolshevism, abandoned the Caucasian front completely, this Armenia contended, entirely alone, without help or relief from any one, with its own forces, against the Turks.

The shameful treaty of Brest-Litovsk immediately followed this desertion. That treaty not only left to the Turks the provinces of Turkish Armenia, which had at one time been conquered by the Russian army with the very effective aid of the Armenians, but even gave them at the same time the purely Armenian Caucasian provinces of Kars and Kaghisman, Batum and Ardahan.

From that moment the National Armenian Council, chosen by the Great National Congress of September, 1917, and presided over by me, rejected the treaty of Brest-Litovsk and, all alone, renewed the war begun by the Russians, who thereupon began to abandon the front. The Armenian soldiers who were on the east front among the Russian troops could not hasten to the aid of their mother country. On the one hand the hesitations of the Kerensky Government, which did not have sufficient discernment to appreciate the real importance of the Caucasian front, and later the general disorganization of Russia, the result of Bolshevism, rendered their return to the Caucasus impossible.

The Council was obliged to organize a new army, purely Armenian, for the defence of the mother country and the cause of the Allies.

As President of the National Armenian Council I received from Paris at this time, through the agency of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a dispatch in cipher from the President of the National Delegation of the Armenians of Turkey, his Excellency Boghos Nubar Pasha, exhorting the Armenians to remain steadfast, to organize their defence, and to oppose the advance of the Turks.

In the name of the National Council, I replied through the agency of the French consulate at Tiflis:

(1) that the Armenian nation was ready to do its whole duty, as it had done since the beginning of the war;

(2) that it counted upon the material, moral, and, if possible, the military assistance of the Allies;

(3) but, since the Armenians had cognizance, through its publication by the Bolshevists, of the secret treaty entered into at the beginning of 1916 between France, England, and Russia, by which Turkish Armenia was to be divided between France and Russia, general depression coupled with discouragement, readily to be understood, had resulted, and that it was imperative, in order to stimulate their resistance and to encourage them to continue the relentless struggle,

(a) to annul this treaty in so far as it concerns Armenia;

(b) to declare the independence of Armenia.

In answer to this dispatch I received a second communication from his Excellency Boghos Nubar Pasha, again through the agency of the French consulate, in which the promises of aid and coöperation were renewed. As to the independence of Armenia, it was said that the declarations made by the English House of Commons and the French Chamber of Deputies were of a nature to satisfy the Armenian demands.

Although the texts of these declarations were not known to us, nevertheless the Armenian nation, strengthened by this encouragement, full of hope for a future which, even at that tragic moment, seemed to smile, rallied about its National Council in order to hurl itself once more into the struggle against the Turks.

A *levée en masse* of all the Armenians was decreed by the National Council, and an army of 5,000 men was organized during the last months of 1917; and this in spite of the numberless difficulties created by the very marked antagonism towards us and towards the Allies which was shown by our neighbors, the various peoples of the Caucasus, who did their best to prevent us from raising this army with which to fight for the Entente.

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The Tartars, and also the Kurds, ranged themselves openly on the side of Turkey; and in order to serve the cause of their ally better, they mobilized in our rear, doing all they could to impede our efforts in the national defence.

The Georgians, to whom we had been bound in the past by religion and by common sufferings, and upon whom we had the right to count, abandoned us at the most tragic moment, refusing to go with us and leaving us alone before the enemy.

Far from the Allies, and not having received the coöperation which we had been promised; alone, deserted and even hunted by our neighbors, we nevertheless threw ourselves into that supreme struggle with the end, if not of glory, at least of hindering the march of the Turks towards the Caucasus; and this while awaiting the great victory of the Allies, a victory of which we never had the slightest doubt.

General Nazarkekian, whose military valor was highly commended at the time of his service in the Russian army, was named commander-in-chief, and the famous leader, Andrank, was placed at the head of a division composed of Turkish Armenians. It was this young army which advanced bravely against the Turks on the front deserted by the Russians, holding the front from Erzindjian to the Persian border.

The unequal struggle against the Turkish army, which was greatly superior in numbers, lasted seven months. Beginning with Erzindjian and Van, the most furious and bloody battles were fought between these two ancient enemies; battles during which Erzerûm, Saukaunsch, the fortress of Kars, Alexandropol, Sarderabad, and Karaklis were the scenes of the most terrible encounters, in the course of which the Turks had to undergo the heaviest losses. It was this heroic resistance of the Armenians which not only prevented the Turks from advancing in the interior of the Caucasus immediately after the abandonment of the front by the Russians, but which also, by keeping their great army at a standstill, prevented for seven months their descent toward Mesopotamia against the English; and which, drawing against itself by its obstinate defence a large part of the forces of the Turkish army of Syria, facilitated the victory of General Allenby's armies.

In the meantime, upon the arrival of the German troops in the Caucasus, Georgia declared itself independent under the military protection of Germany. Tartary, with the aid and support of the Turkish army, likewise declared itself independent and took the name of Aderbaidjian. The unity of the Caucasus being thus shattered, the National Armenian Council proclaimed likewise the independence of Armenia.

This Republic went on regularly for about a year, repelling the Georgian and Tartar aggressions from without, reorganizing within its own regular and disciplined army of almost 40,000 men, free from Bolshevism or any other prevailing element of disorganization, and, by aid of incessant energy, bringing about perfect order in its territory of 60,000 square kilometres.

It is this Armenian Republic, whose Government and Parliament sit in its capital at Erivan, which has appointed us as its representatives at the Peace Conference, charging us to make known to that body the following:

1. Russia, in abandoning the Armenians to their fate in spite of all their prayers; in leaving to them alone a war which it was beyond their power to carry on; in giving over to the Turks by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk the Armenian provinces of the Caucasus, Kars, Ardahan, and Kaghisman, without even consulting us, thereby bringing about the ruin of hundreds of thousands of Armenians, has, by these very acts, broken forever all ties existing between Armenia and Russia.

2. The Armenian Republic, accordingly, believes itself justified in demanding the immediate recognition of its independence, which has been merited and gained upon the field of battle, and which the success of its arms has obliged even its enemies to acknowledge.

3. Taking into consideration this war, which Armenia wages entirely alone in defence of the cause of the Allies, and the superhuman sacrifices which all the Armenians have made, I have the honor, in the name of the Armenian nation, of claiming the place which the nation has justly merited at the Peace Conference, at the side of the Emir Faiçal and of the representatives of the Czecho-Slovaks, of the Poles, and of the Serbs.

4. The Delegation of the Armenian Republic declares that it acts, in all its proceedings and demands, in perfect accord with the Delegation of the Turkish Armenians presided over at Paris by his Excellency Boghos Nubar Pasha.

A Programme of Peace or China

A RECENT meeting at Peking of "independent Chinese and foreign journalists" adopted the following resolutions as a reasonable programme for internal peace and a basis "for a uniform attitude in the discussion of these serious problems in the press." The resolutions are taken from the *Celestial Empire* (Shanghai) of January 11.

I. *In the Matter of Parliament.* That the North and South Conference should settle the principles to be followed in regard to the seven disputed articles of the Constitution—that is, whether the so-called American Presidential system is to be followed in the matter of the Cabinet, or the French system, also what powers are to be vested in the Chief Executive in regard to dissolution of Parliament, and what is his veto in Parliamentary bills, etc.; and that, when the principles have been so established, the Canton Parliament—that is, the old 1913 Parliament created under the Nanking Constitution to draft the Constitution—be instructed to conclude its work on the disputed articles, according to the principles laid down at the North and South Conference. When its work is concluded the Canton Parliament should be held *ipso facto* dissolved. Also when the Peking Parliament has carried out the ruling of the Conference regarding the matter of the Vice-President, in accordance with Resolution 3 hereunder, it should be held dissolved *ipso facto* in the same way as the Canton Parliament. A general election should immediately follow the dissolution of the two Parliaments, according to the General Election Law of 1913, Parliament to be convened on the date determined in the permanent Constitution. The business remitted to the two Parliaments by the North and South Conference should be concluded within one month from the date on which it is so remitted.

II. *In the Matter of President.* The anomalous conditions existing in China to-day urgently demand President Hsu's retention for the five-year term of his office. Therefore, the Canton Parliament should forthwith proceed to the confirmation of President Hsu's election.

III. *In the Matter of Vice-President.* With regard to the election of Vice-President, the North and South Conference should recommend either the election of a Southern non-militarist by the Canton Parliament prior to its dissolution, or that such election be postponed until the new Parliament be summoned.

IV. *In the Matter of Armies.* That the universal military system obtaining throughout the world be adopted in China, with the abolition of all offices instituted in Yuan Shih-Kai's régime for the military control of provinces—that is to say, that the military control be centralized in Peking; that the provincial capitals be entirely evacuated by the military forces and handed over to the control of the civil governors, whose authority shall be supported by the requisite *gendarmerie* forces; and that all independent military organizations, such as the Bureau of National Defence established in Peking, shall be abolished forthwith; that a special body be created in Peking to deal with the question of disbandment of troops and their after-employment.

V. *In the Matter of Secret Agreements.* That the whole body of agreements and conventions made between China and other Powers during the period of the European war be published, and that steps be taken for the revision or rescission of such agreements and conventions as are harmful to China's interests.

VI. *In the Matter of the Place of Conference.* That in view of the necessity of affording complete liberty and protection to

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every delegate present, the Conference be held as in 1911-12, in the Town Hall of the International Settlement at Shanghai.

VII. *In the Matter of Friendly Support.* That inasmuch as China's interests are to-day so bound up with those of the Allies, the Allies give such friendly support as is deemed necessary for the actual carrying out of the decisions of the North and South Conference.

VIII. *In the Matter of Finance.* That inasmuch as an essential element in the settlement will be the extension of financial aid to China by her allies, such financial aid shall be carried out by embodying in the reorganization loan the currency agreement of 1911, so that an effective silver standard be established under the reorganized Government and the present disastrous financial conditions prevailing in Peking and the provinces be ameliorated.

Textile Manufacture in Russia

The following decree of the Soviet Government, dated January 19, 1918, sets forth the regulations for the Government control of the textile industry.

1. On the strength of Clause 2 of the ordinance of the Supreme Board of National Economy, No. 34, published in the "Gazette of the Provisional Workmen's and Peasants' Government" on December 16, 1917, all textile-weaving products, such as cotton, wool, flax, hemp, and jute textures, as well as articles made from them, are taken under control.

2. Factory and mill committees are authorized to see that no goods are taken from factories or factory storehouses without permission of the Commissariat of Supplies or of institutions or persons authorized by it.

3. All establishments which manufacture products enumerated in this order are to submit to the Commissariat of Supplies, under the direction of factory and mill committees, about the first of each month, a report of the quantity of goods in the factory storehouses and the quantity of goods manufactured during those periods.

4. In regard to the arrival of goods enumerated in Clause 1 from abroad, the persons and institutions receiving them render accounts to the Commissariat of Supplies. The customs offices through which those goods pass also report to the Commissariat of Supplies.

5. The Commissariat of Supplies, utilizing the data thus obtained, apportions the goods on a national scale.

6. All persons, firms, coöperative societies and institutions which deal wholesale or retail, as well as the administration of credit institutions, pawn-shops, transport and express companies, and proprietors of storehouses, together with private persons who have goods in a quantity exceeding personal needs, are required to present within five days from the publication of this order a report of all goods in their possession, measured by the yard, as well as tailored goods and single articles, to the proper supplies organizations; that is to say, in cities, to the municipal organization, in villages to the village organization, etc. The latter send the reports to the respective provincial, district, and town supplies organizations for their guidance.

7. The basis and manner of distribution, as well as the forms of control, are worked out by the provincial supplies councils, but the same must be strictly enforced so that persons who receive for a specified time or purpose cloth by the yard shall not be able to get ready-made articles.

8. The prices of all goods are to be fixed—that is to say, the price is to be listed, plus the charge for delivery and plus 10 per cent. for wholesale merchants and 25 per cent. for retail merchants. In case price-lists are lacking, the prices are fixed by special commissions, consisting of six informed persons with the active participation of three representatives of the Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies or of organizations which take their place.

9. In the case of persons and institutions who disobey this order, their goods shall be requisitioned with a discount of 50 per cent. from the fixed prices, and the discounted 50 per cent. shall be deposited to the credit of the state.

10. Supervision over the execution of this order is entrusted to the department of supplies of the Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, factory committees, and other democratic organizations.

A Japanese Socialist Manifesto

THE Socialist party of Japan is strongly opposed to intervention in Russia, and five of its prominent members have been arrested for their opposition to the Government policy. The executive committees of the Socialists of Tokio and Yokohama have addressed the following letter to the Bolsheviki. The letter appeared in the Russian newspaper *Pravda* (Petrograd), and was reprinted in the *Humanité* (Paris) of February 16.

TO THE RUSSIAN COMRADES:

Since the beginning of the Russian Revolution we have followed your intrepid activity with enthusiasm. All that you have done has enormous influence upon the psychology of our people. We indignantly protest against the presence of Japanese troops in Siberia, for we fear that it may be a blow to the free development of your revolution. We are grieved that our numerical weakness prevents our removing the peril which threatens you from our Government. We are unable to aid you in any way, persecuted as we are. But we assure you that the red flag of the revolution will soon float in Japan. We send you a copy of the resolution passed by us.

RESOLUTION:

We, Socialists of Japan assembled at Tokio, express our profound sympathy with the Russian Revolution. We recognize that the Russian Revolution, which at first appeared a political revolution of the bourgeoisie against absolutism, is in fact a revolution of the proletariat against the capitalist régime. The transformation of the Russian Revolution from a political revolution into a social revolution interests the Socialists of all countries. In all countries the capitalist order has reached its highest development under the form of an unbridled imperialism. The Socialists of all countries should strongly favor the resumption of international relations, and all forces of the international proletariat should be turned against our common enemy, international capitalism. The Socialists of Russia and of all countries should do everything in their power to help the workers of belligerent countries to direct their attacks, not against other workers, but against the dominant classes of their respective countries. We have faith in the heroism of the Russian Socialists and of our comrades of the entire world. We are convinced that the revolutionary spirit will spread to all countries.

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Foreign Press

Hungary and the Allies

THAT the Allied Powers have had at their disposal all necessary information regarding the condition of Hungary is indicated by the large amount of material collected and translated in the weekly *Enemy Press Supplement* to the *Review of the Foreign Press*, issued by the General Staff of the British War Office. During the war, and especially since the signing of the armistice, the Hungarian press has devoted much space to discussion of the armistice terms, their extension and violation, the question of nationality, political events, economic and social conditions, the Allied blockade, disorder, and the spread of revolutionary activity —all of which has been carefully summarized and reviewed in the official publication referred to above. The following account, based upon the issues of the *Enemy Press Supplement* of January 2-February 27, indicates the wide extent of Hungarian unrest and dissatisfaction.

As early as December 3 the *Pester Lloyd* suggested that an international commission be appointed by the Allies to inquire into the question of Hungarian nationalities, as the terms of the armistice were being ignored. The same paper appealed to President Wilson as the protector of the world to enforce his principles at the Peace Conference, and affirmed its confidence in his ability to curb the ambitions of the European nations. At the same time Rumanian troops were crossing at several points the line of demarcation. In certain towns Socialist papers and books were confiscated, as well as all papers from Budapest, while Rumanian was established as the official language. According to the *Pester Lloyd* of December 6, Pop-Csicsó, the Rumanian Minister for War, said that the Rumanian Government would shortly ask the Hungarian Government to hand over to him the army and police in the twenty-six counties, and that Transylvania had been promised to Rumania when the latter joined in the war and would not even be mentioned at the Peace Congress. Hungary, he stated, had not published a true account of the armistice terms; there was no line of demarcation, for the French had occupied Budapest.

By the early part of January the continued advance of the Czechs, Rumanians, and Serbians beyond the line of demarcation, and the apparent ambiguity of the Entente's attitude in face of this alleged breach of the armistice, had led to the circulation of reports that the Government would throw up its task and leave the work of maintaining order to the Entente unless the situation was changed. The *Enemy Press Supplement* suggests that this threat was an attempt to force the Allies to take a stand before they should be "faced with a social upheaval, the results of which would be incalculable." The *Pester Lloyd* of December 19 reported that the commanders of the Rumanian, Czech, and Serbian armies of occupation continued to violate the armistice. On the plea that the armistice allowed the occupation of points of strategic importance beyond the line of demarcation, they were gradually seizing the greater part of the Hungarian territories, even where the population was purely Magyar and the places had no strategic importance. They professed to be carrying out the orders of the Entente. Similar violations on the part of the Czechs were reported from day to day. On December 18, the *Pester Lloyd* stated that a deputation had waited on Károlyi and Jászi to ask the Government to interfere on behalf of the Hungarian hostages carried off by the Czechs. Károlyi replied that the Government did not admit the right of the Czechs to occupy Hungary, but that the Hungarians could not help themselves; the Czechs had violated the armistice, especially by carrying off hostages; this had ceased to be a local question, and it demanded the united action of all Hungary. He himself would appeal to Wilson, as they could not use force.

At the same time internal unrest and disorder were said to be increasing. On December 22 a special correspondent of the Scandinavian Telegraph Co. was reported in the Hungarian press as saying: "The Entente seems to be blind to the events which are happening and about to happen in Hungary. . . Károlyi and the other Ministers, whose office is anything but enviable, represent the last bulwark against Bolshevism, which is threatening to sweep from east to west. . . In view of these facts all the statesmen of the Entente, and above all Wilson, ought to endeavor to support Károlyi in order to save what can be saved. It almost seems as if the statesmen of the Entente deliberately wanted to ruin Hungary, without being aware of this danger to their own countries. At the eleventh hour their attention must be directed to the fact that what the Czechs, Rumanians, and Serbians are now doing in Hungary, without a protest from the Entente statesmen, is unparalleled in the history of the world for brutality and for offences against justice and humanity." At the same time the press of Hungary showed an earnest desire to establish a Government which should be regarded with favor by the Allies. The *Magyarország* of December 28 asked: "Why are we thus persecuted? One General after another sends us notice of fresh annexations. Who is the moving force behind these terrible decisions? At first, though we found not much good will on the side of the Entente, neither did we find antipathy; we must seek for the reason of the change, and when we have found it we must eliminate it with calm common-sense in the interest of the country."

A great meeting at Kolozsvár (Klausenburg), on December 22, of the Magyars, Saxons, and Social Democrats of Transylvania, to protest against the resolution of Gyulafehévár, in which twenty-six counties were claimed for the Rumanians, was reported in the *Pester Lloyd* of December 23. The Rumanians succeeded in stopping all but two of about twenty special trains, although the Rumanian Council was said to have promised them a free conduct. In spite of this, nearly 10,000 persons arrived from all parts of Transylvania. About 100,000 persons attended the mass meeting. The *Enemy Press Supplement* of January 23 stated that the Hungarian newspapers had "lost all trust in the pacific aims of the Entente; their faith in Wilson begins to fail."

Sporadic Communist outbreaks were reported early in January and the army was said to be demoralized and permeated with Socialist propaganda. Meanwhile, occupation of the country by Czecho-Slovaks, Rumanians, and Serbians continued, as well as further occupations by French troops. The *Pester Lloyd* of January 9 reported the arrival at Budapest of an Allied commission to collect information about the economic condition of Hungary. According to this paper, the commission was received with great satisfaction by the country.

During the second week in January the increased activity of the Communists and the continued disorder, imperilling the coal and food supply, led to a bourgeois demand for martial law. The Social Democrats, owing chiefly to their control of the army, prevented this, as well as the proposed formation of a bourgeois Ministry. The Government crisis, after much negotiation and the resignation of the entire Ministry, was settled by the appointment of Berinkey as Premier, and the election by the National Council of Károlyi as provisional President of the Republic pending the meeting of the constituent assembly. A week or more later it was announced that the elections for the constituent assembly would be indefinitely postponed because the Entente would not facilitate the holding of them in the occupied districts—nearly two-thirds of the country—and an assembly representing only the remaining one-third was out of the questions. The new coalition Ministry under Berinkey was formed in accordance with the wishes of the Workers' Council, giving four portfolios to the Socialists. Bolshevist outbreaks continued, although the Workers' Council and various other

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labor organizations had manifested their loyalty to Socialist as opposed to Bolshevist doctrines.

The invitation issued by the Entente to the various groups in Russia to meet in conference was hailed by the Hungarian press as a promise of fair treatment for Hungary. Renewed hope that the Peace Conference would relieve the economic distress of Hungary and order out invaders was aroused by the action of the Entente in condemning forcible annexations. The *Pester Lloyd* and several other papers revived their declarations of faith in the power and fairness of President Wilson. During the latter part of January serious strikes, apparently of a political character, took place in Transylvania against Rumanian rule.

On January 29 the *Pester Lloyd* reported that the Communists had been expelled from the Hungarian Social Democratic party by action of the Workers' Council of Budapest. At the same time the Communist propaganda was wide-spread, and the French ordered all Bolshevist agitators deported to Salonika. Reports of atrocities, particularly on the part of the invading Rumanians, continued to be widely circulated, but were denied by Erdelyi, the Rumanian Minister at Budapest. The Hungarian Miners' Union, however, stated that it was prepared to prove the alleged atrocities, and the Hungarian Railway Union sent a telegram to the International Socialist Conference at Berne detailing Rumanian acts of brutality, and asking for the intervention of the Conference.

On February 15 the Károlyi party issued a "message to the country" which was extremely liberal in its tone and friendly to the Socialists. The Social Democrats coöperated actively with the Government in suppressing communism, and were reported to have gained much prestige by their success in securing the support of the Berne Conference for their claims against the Czechs and the other invading nations.

European and American press reports since March 6 indicate a constantly growing unrest, with serious Communist outbreaks in the cities. The Government decided to hold elections for the assembly in spite of foreign occupation of large parts of the territory, and announced April 10 as the date of the elections. Land reforms were hurried, and a volunteer army of six divisions was being recruited. As a result of the successful Communist revolution, however, elections have been indefinitely postponed.

The Dismemberment of Hungary

THE following summaries of articles in the Hungarian newspaper *Pester Lloyd* are given in the *Review of the Foreign Press*, February 5, published by the British War Office.

Professor Dr. Friedrich v. Fellner, of Budapest, has written an article in *Pester Lloyd* (Dec. 29) on the territorial integrity of Hungary. He begins by saying that the territorial mutilation of Hungary would be incompatible with the financial and economic interests of the Entente. Hungary, he points out, employed for the extension of her national production not only German and Austrian capital, but that of the Western states, and had financial and commercial relations with every civilized nation. If her territorial integrity is destroyed and she retains only such regions as are left after Bohemian-Slovak, Rumanian, and Serbian aspirations are satisfied, Hungary will lose her forests, whose yearly clear revenue was before the war Kr. 114 mill., and her mines, whose net pre-war profits reached Kr. 145 mill. She would thus be deprived of the timber, coal, iron ore, salt, etc., essential to the national production. Again, by the loss of Fiume she will have no seaport. The development of the whole network of communications, to a value of Kr. 5.797 milliards, was adapted to a Hungary composing a compact economic entity, the railways and roads all radiating from Budapest. The system of natural waterways which supplements the artificial lines of traffic and has been completed by a costly process of regulation, follows a central direction. If the compactness of the territory is destroyed, a large proportion of these means of communication would become useless, and the consequent shrinkage in the return on the capital invested in them would affect not only Hungary itself, but foreign countries also.

The whole credit organization, suited to the economic life of an integrate Hungary, has been so expanded that large amounts of foreign capital have been enlisted in the service of national production. At the end of 1914, in Hungary strictly so-called, 1,833 credit institutions were transacting business. If their sphere of operations is reduced many of them will be liquidated, with disastrous results for the foreign capital invested in them.

It must not be forgotten that the international pay balance of Hungary is adverse, since her capital debt far exceeds her claims on other countries. Hungary works mainly with foreign capital, which is attracted by the guaranteed high interest and by the prospect of improved dividends. The foreign debt of Hungary, reckoned at par, and therefore without *disagio*, amounts to Kr. 8.4 milliards, for which Kr. 547 mill. are paid annually in interest. If Hungary is deprived of her wood, coal, ores, and salt she will be unable to meet her foreign capital debt and interest payment on obligations, and the sound home enterprises must suffer greatly.

Again, no new sources of taxation will be available; on the contrary, the diminution in taxable objects and the weakening of the economic resources of the persons liable to taxation will lead to the gradual destruction of the country's tax-paying capabilities. In this disaster other countries will be involved, partly because their invested capital will be menaced, partly because they will lose a market hitherto open to them.

Lastly, all the public offices and administrative bodies in Hungary have been organized on the scale required by the country with its old territorial possessions. If the sphere of these activities is greatly narrowed there must be large dismissals of the staff of these departments, which will produce extensive unemployment or entail a costly system of pensions. The same remarks apply to the administration of justice, and consequently many of the persons who ought to have been supporters of law and order will swell the ranks of discontented socialism. The lessened opportunities of earning will all tend to produce a state of things so contrary to what the Entente would wish that it seems unlikely that the result of the Peace Conference will be the disintegration of Hungary.

Industries that would be lost

Writing on the same subject in the *Pester Lloyd* of December 28, Marzell Gallai points out that on the principle of self-determination it is claimed that all those districts of Hungary in which Czecho-Slovaks predominate shall be incorporated in the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The highest claim hitherto put forward by the Czech press is for 19 komitate, which would secure about 16 per cent. of Hungary's coal-producing lands, all the iron-ore fields of northern Hungary (Szepes-Gyömörer Erzgebirge), and all the ironworks for the new state. This would mean that Diósgyör, Ozd, and other works representative of Hungarian heavy industry, which owe their development to Hungarian brains and money, would be obliged to work for the Czechs. Such an annexation, too, would absorb about 39 per cent. of Hungary's textile industry. This figure is based on the entire textile industry, and, for that reason, does not sound particularly fatal. But, regarded in detail, the situation assumes a more unfavorable form. The cotton industry alone would lose 26 per cent. Added to this comes the fact that this industry is mainly represented on Hungarian soil by finishing works, which would be dependent on the Czecho-Slovak industry for a supply of cotton fabrics. Hungary's wool industry would lose 86 per cent. to the Czechs, so that, as the Rumanians claim the wool industry of Saxon Transylvania, Hungary would be entirely at the mercy of the Czecho-Slovaks with regard to clothing. Some idea of the extent of the Czech textile industry may be gained from the fact that in 1906 (later figures are at pres-

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ent not available) wages to the amount of Kr. 136 millions were paid out in Bohemia and Moravia. Compared with this, Hungary paid only Kr. 27 millions in wages of this kind in 1917, a year in which wages were abnormally high. In the matter of the timber trade, Czech and Rumanian claims together would deprive Hungary of 78 per cent. of her supplies. This would effectively crush Hungary's cellulose and paper industries. Further losses would amount to 26 per cent. in the chemical industry, and 23 per cent. in the stoneware and earthenware industries. The latest rumor in the Czech press is to the effect that, owing to the necessity of direct communication with Russia, the Czecho-Slovak state claims the Ruthenian-Rumanian komitat Máramaros, which would include the possession of Hungary's great salt mines.

Rumania claims 26 komitate, and bases her claim on historical right, right of self-determination, and the "right of necessity." She claims all territories where Rumanians *also* live. This annexation would not mean the liberation of the Rumanian people, but the stealing of 28 per cent. of Hungary's coal-producing lands, together with the remnants of the iron industry still remaining after the Czechs have taken all they want. By annexing Hungary's timber trade, Rumania is securing for herself a prominent position in this branch, and by stealing the coal and iron industries and the natural gas wells she is depriving Hungary of every possibility of industrial life. The Rumanian petroleum wells, aided by Hungary's natural gas wells and coal supplies and the timber export trade of the Danube and Black Sea, may enable Rumania to realize her boldest dreams.

The Jews in Poland

THE following letter, dated at Berlin, February 1, was written by the Berlin correspondent of the Amsterdam *Handelsblad*. The author, an able and conscientious journalist, served in the Dutch army as an officer during the first three years of the war, and in 1917 was allowed to go to Berlin as military observer for the *Handelsblad*. Since then he has visited all parts of the German front in Europe. After the signing of the armistice he reported the Berlin revolution, and subsequently was sent to Galicia to learn the truth about the alleged Polish attacks upon the Jews.

For two days I have been wandering through the Ghetto of Lemberg. And these two days remain fixed in my memory as a continuous voyage through the very deepest of all miseries, as a humiliation without end. The Ghetto of Lemberg is not picturesque. It is just plain dirty. Most of the houses are tenements with shops in the basements. They are big human caravanseries, recently built but incredibly neglected, and for the greater part were burned to mere shambles; the windows are smashed, the shops are plundered. And notwithstanding the continual denials of the Polish Government this business of robbery and burning is still the order of the day.

At the present moment the Jews of Lemberg live in a state of perpetual unrest. Day and night they are "controlled," their houses are "searched," and whatever in the opinion of the searchers constitutes a "superabundance of possessions" is taken without any further ado. Although the Government has forbidden patrolling during the hours of the night, this sort of patrolling is continued without any official interference. Every day the Jewish Committee of Succor hears of new cases of murder and robbery and arson. I have personally assisted at their investigations. I have sat there for hours at a time, and as the investigations were held in the German language, I was able to follow them closely. For hours and hours I talked to the inhabitants of the houses that had been burned, I have visited the ruins of their homes and looked into the smallest details. I have learned the sort of bestialities of which these scoundrels in uniform had been guilty. Frequently I saw how Jewish merchants, standing in front of their shops, fled the moment a Polish patrol became visible, closed the shutters of their doors and hid themselves in the back rooms of their houses, not to reappear until long after the patrol had left their street. More than once I have seen with my own eyes how Polish patrols, consisting of boys not more than fourteen to sixteen years of age, armed to the teeth, a bayonet atop a gun bigger than the child who carried it, stopped old Jewish men in the streets, asked for their papers, and in case they had none to show took them away to make them work on the fortifications of the town. I have visited the horrible smelling, dirty little synagogues where the Jews, deprived of home and their last penny, were flocking together on the floor, and I have made them tell me of their misery. Dozens of them came to stand around me, filthy in their rags, their pale faces and their red eyes looking up towards me, while two rabbis were reading unknown sentences from the old sacred books. They shrieked their stories and from sheer excitement became hoarse in recounting what had happened. And I shall never forget this high-pitched Canticle of Poverty and Neglect. Then the rabbis showed me the rolls of the Torah—manuscripts of the thirteenth century, burned to ashes by the Polish rabble.

On the first of the two great days of assassination, the twenty-third of November, at half-past two in the morning, six soldiers in Polish and Austrian uniforms came to the house at No. 21 Bozniczgasse and climbed to the second story, where twenty-five occupants of the house had come together in the rooms of one M. Teitelbaum. The soldiers demanded money and threatened to kill the people who were present unless they gave up everything they had. The Jews gave whatever they possessed. Then the soldiers said, "Don't start hollering. Just a few more minutes and you will all be burned anyway." Then they looked for kerosene, but could find none. In their anger at not finding any they destroyed everything inside the house. The people fled into the small kitchen, and the soldiers upon leaving set fire to the house. The twenty-five men and women managed, however, to escape to the synagogue at No. 2 Weglanagasse. There, very soon, over seventy refugees had gathered. A little later the six soldiers entered the synagogue and searched all the people who were present. Then they sent the women and children into the street and demanded at once twenty thousand crowns. In case of refusal the synagogue and its inmates were to be burned. In anticipation a few were stripped, others were placed on the benches with cords around their necks, ready to be hanged. The money, of course, was slow in coming, and to while away the time the soldiers collected the sacred books and started a bonfire. At last the smoke was so dense that the soldiers could no longer stand it. They left the church, pushed the Jews back, and locked the doors. But through a door of which the soldiers had no knowledge the Jews finally managed to escape.

Of similar events I have read a bulky volume. Polish officers and their ladies appear in automobiles and take whatever furs they want—they steal whatever supplies they want—smart ladies follow these officers on their trips of brigandage and simply take whatever pleases them. Apparently this Jew-baiting became a popular sport. The Government at last sent a few mounted officers to stop the happy holiday of the soldiers. They trotted through the Jewish quarters, firing their revolvers into the air, but saying to the men, "Go ahead. Steal from the Jews whatever you want."

In the middle of the night houses were invaded, people murdered, brains smashed with the butts of guns, and wounded people were left behind in burning houses. In some cases mothers tried to save their children by throwing them from the windows of the upper floor to mattresses and pillows which they had thrown down previously. I know of cases where the soldiers pulled away the mattresses at the last moment. In another case I know of six hundred crowns stolen by a Polish soldier in company with a Red Cross nurse.

An endless list of bestial cruelties, given with name and address, with full details, are reminiscent of the worst days of the Middle Ages. Besides, there are the silent witnesses—the blackened ruins of the houses, the plundered shops. Nobody, not even

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the Polish authorities, denies that these atrocities have taken place. There is only some discussion as to the exact causes for this outbreak.

After a thorough investigation I do not believe that the Polish Government deliberately ordered these pogroms. They even seem to regret now that things happened the way they did. But they are directly responsible, for they armed the worst hoodlums of the town in the name of the danger from foreign invasion, and when this dastardly mob was once armed the Polish authorities did nothing to prevent the horrible consequences. Besides, the sentiment of official Lemberg is most pronouncedly anti-Semitic, and this well-known and very apparent prejudice has greatly encouraged the horrible things that have happened here.

On the other hand, the Jews are not free from guilt. Rightly or wrongly, they were accused of veering constantly between the two contending parties, sticking to the party that was temporarily the triumphant one. Furthermore, the Zionist elements were regarded as friendly towards Austria's policy of setting the different populations of Galicia against one another. Finally, there has been growing among the Jews a very strong anti-Polish sentiment, and when the difficulties with the Ruthenians began, this must have caused hatred and suspicion among the Poles.

But even the most plausible and convincing suspicion does not for a single moment excuse the Galician pogroms of the year 1918, which befoul the name of the new Polish state and which are a downright scandal, even in the bestial days of upheaval through which the world is just now passing.

Norway and Spitzbergen

THE outbreak of the war interrupted a conference of delegates from eight Powers, including the United States, which was meeting in Christiania to settle the status of Spitzbergen, and which left the islands a "No Man's Land" as they were before. A few months ago a definite agitation, inspired by British mining interests, began for the annexation of Spitzbergen. Herbert George Ponting, a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, who visited the islands last summer in the interest of the Northern Exploration Company, is an enthusiastic advocate of annexation, and various articles have appeared setting forth the British claims and arguing that it would be treachery to British interests if the Government should remain passive in the face of the counter-claims advanced by the Norwegians. Replying to this, the Christiania *Tidens Tegn* says, in an editorial of January 20:

The Northern Exploration Company, Ltd., the strongly financed British company which intends to begin mining operations on a large scale in Spitzbergen, is opening a branch office in Tromsö. It seems strange that this Company, which has carried on an active campaign for the English annexation of Spitzbergen, should find it necessary to put its base of operations in Norway. When actual work is to begin, we shall no doubt see that the Company will have to resort to Norwegian workmen to build the plant as well as to carry on mining operations.

It is especially the iron deposits that interest the Company, according to Herbert G. Ponting, who, together with Sir Ernest Shackleton, took part in the British expedition to Spitzbergen last summer. . . . We Norwegians are, of course, delighted at the idea that the Britishers will bring iron from Spitzbergen, and only hope that the Company's great dreams of the future will not be disappointed.

But dreams of the future are one thing, and the present reality is another thing. And when it comes to a question of the administration of Spitzbergen, it would be unjust to ignore the fact that it is chiefly the Norwegians (and formerly the Americans), and *not* the British, who have hitherto utilized and developed the possibilities of Spitzbergen. In the years 1907 to 1918, 250,000 tons of coal have been shipped from Spitzbergen. With the exception of 4,000 tons shipped by the Swedish concern *Spitsbergen Svenska Kolfelt*, this entire amount has been shipped by Norwegian companies and by the American company which, in 1916, was taken over by the Norwegian *Store Norske*. In 1918, the *Store Norske* shipped 40,000 tons; another Norweigan concern, the *King Bay Kolkompani* of Aalesund, shipped 13,000 tons; the above-mentioned Swedish company, 4,000 tons; and a smaller Norwegian-Russian company which has its field of operations on the eastern shore of Green Harbor, a couple of thousand tons. There was an English company which began to establish a plant east of Advent Bay, but its property has been taken over by a Norwegian company, *De Norske Kolfelter Spitsbergen*. There is an English marble quarry at King's Bay, but so far as we have been able to find out nothing has been shipped from it.

Last winter 500 men stayed over in Spitzbergen—and with the exception of 60 Swedes they were all Norwegians. It is, therefore, an incontestible fact that at present Norwegian enterprise, Norwegian workmen, and Norwegian capital are overwhelmingly preponderant in the development of Spitzbergen. We in this country will feel it as a deliberate insult if Norwegian interests are disregarded in the settlement of the Spitzbergen problem.

The Schleswig Question

THE Danish Government has declared in favor of a boundary regulation which would give Denmark only the unquestionably Danish districts in North Schleswig. Various factions are urging other less moderate settlements. One small group, working with an organization known as the "English Friends of Denmark," urges the return not only of Schleswig, but of Holstein also. A much more influential faction insists that at least the city of Flensborg, which has strong Danish affiliations, although most of the population is now German, ought to be reunited with Denmark. In reply to the agitation the Government has restated its support of a policy of self-determination in the following official communication, made public by the Ritzau Press Bureau on January 25.

The North Schleswig question is for Denmark an exclusively national question. The Danish nation hopes and longs for the return to the kingdom of Denmark of all who speak and feel Danish, but we have no interest in the question beyond that of nationality. Denmark's strength as a state would not be increased by the possession of a greater part of Schleswig than that in which the people really desire to be united with us; such possession would only create great political and administrative difficulties.

All the parties of the Rigsdag, and through them an overwhelming majority of the Danish people, have declared, in the Rigsdag resolution of October 3, in favor of a solution along purely national lines as the only one that accords with the desires, sentiments, and interests of the Danish people. This is exactly the same viewpoint as that of the Danes in North Schleswig, as expressed in the resolution passed by the North Schleswig Electoral Society at its meeting in Aabenraa, November 17.

We are therefore bringing before the Peace Conference the demand formulated by the people of North Schleswig for a solution of the problem on the basis of the self-determination of nations by means of a popular vote. This Government agrees with the Danes in North Schleswig that a plébiscite would form the surest foundation for our reunion in the future. In accordance with Article I of the Aabenraa resolution, this Government believes that the correct procedure will be to have "North Schleswig regarded as a unit, so that the inhabitants by voting

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yes or no may indicate whether or not they wish to be reunited with Denmark."

The unquestionably Danish part of Schleswig is described in Article II of the Aabenraa resolutions as follows: "North Schleswig is that part of the Duchy of Schleswig bounded by a line running from the southern point of Als, through Flensborg Fjord to the Kobbermölle Bay and along the Krusaa south of Frösley, so that Padoberg will be the boundary station, then following the waterways between Slogs and Kaer *herred*, Skelbaek, Söndenaa, and Hvidaa, to the point where Hvidaa turns to the north, when the line runs straight out to the Western Sea and thence out to the northern point of Sild."

In central Schleswig, on the other hand, a fair determination can be arrived at only by voting in districts, as indicated in the Aabenraa resolution. If any hindrance should arise to prevent a plébiscite of the Danes in North Schleswig—which the Government has no reason to apprehend—then the line indicated in Article II of the Aabenraa resolution must be made the basis of the regulation, since there is no doubt but that the population north of this line can with safety be added to Denmark even without a vote.

The Aabenraa resolution, Article V, declares that, as a matter of course, any districts south of the line that express a desire for it should have a right to vote separately on whether or not they wish to return to Denmark. In case anything should prevent a plébiscite of these people also—which the Government has no reason to apprehend—it would still be possible to receive back individual parishes which have an unquestionably Danish-speaking majority, in accordance with the petition signed by 876 men and women over twenty years of age in this district and sent in to this Government. There are, however, some communes from which no petition has been received.

In the case of Flensborg and its immediate vicinity conditions are very different. We can not consent to have these districts reunited with Denmark unless the inhabitants express a desire for it through a free vote, since without a doubt the majority of the people there are Germans. The petition from Flensborg is signed by 3,401 men and women over twenty years, whereas the total population of that age must be estimated as 40,000. This Government is taking steps to have the Peace Conference guarantee the freedom of the plébiscite in accordance with the desires of the Danish North Schleswigers as expressed by the second Aabenraa resolution of December 30, 1918.

Belgian Aims in Holland

RECENT reports of a desire on the part of Belgium to enlarge its territory at the expense of Holland, joined to intimations of Holland's readiness forcibly to defend her territory against annexation, lend interest to the following discussion of Belgian and French opinion on the subject in the *Haagsche Courant* of January 16.

WE may dismiss the illusion that the danger of Belgian annexationism no longer exists. It will threaten us as long as a powerful current carries the Belgian Government in that direction and as long as public opinion in France gives it such stanch support.

On the 12th inst., the very day of the first meeting of the delegates of the Great Powers, the *Matin* and the *Petit Parisien*, two of the biggest and most widely read papers, both on good terms with the Government, published articles declaring that South Limburg must be taken from Holland and that the Scheldt agreement must be modified so as to detach Zeeland-Flanders from Holland. The *Temps* also, a few days ago, wrote in favor of the Belgian annexationists.

The *Matin*, to defend its impertinent position, lays stress on the right of self-determination, as though from the very day that annexationism raised its head the population of South Limburg, as well as that of Zee and Flanders, had not clearly demonstrated that they are Dutch and determined to remain Dutch. There is no more powerful argument against annexationism than the right of self-determination. Does the French public know that? Does the French press sincerely take into account the determined opposition of the territories destined to be annexed? We fear it does not, for it would not suit their wicked plans.

"Belgian public opinion," says the *Matin*, "desires Limburg and the free use of the Scheldt, because it is evident that, deprived of these two advantages, Belgium has been in a state of inferiority as against German aggression."

Both in Belgium and in France they know the falseness of this argument. We cannot go on repeating, but we must remind our readers that we have always maintained how great an obstacle Dutch (neutral) Limburg proved when the Germans marched against Belgium in August, 1914, and that presumably the war would have entailed worse consequences for Belgium and the Allies if Limburg had been Belgian territory, which would have enabled the Germans to advance on a much more extended front.

It is equally true that if neutral Holland closed the Scheldt to foreign men-of-war all through the war, it was an important advantage for the Allies and especially for England, Belgium's powerful ally, as the German submarines were deprived of very dangerous bases.

Do the French and Belgian press mention these things to the public? If the cause they defend were honorable, they would not be silent about such unassailable truths. They would not need, as does the editor of *La Nation Belge*, Fernand Neuray, in an article in the *Petit Parisien*, to take refuge in lies such as "restoration of the ancient frontiers of Belgium," as if Holland had ever taken anything from Belgium.

We have again recently demonstrated that this is false. In reply to the French and Belgian quibblers, let us repeat that Belgium has not the slightest right to Dutch territory. That, however, does not preclude amicable negotiations for the settlement of questions which touch the interests of both countries. The representatives of the Powers who are to settle European affairs must be guided by justice alone; and if they are proof against annexationist vagaries, we shall have nothing to fear. But so long as the annexationists try to poison public opinion, we shall show up the falseness of their assertions and the real nature of their aims.

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Notes

ALEXANDER DEVINE, of Winchester, England, who was Commissioner to Europe during the war on behalf of the Montenegro Red Cross and Relief Fund of London, contributes to the London *Truth* of January 15 an article calling attention to an "apparently successful intrigue" which he describes as having been carried on against Montenegro. Its first step was a persistent representation that Montenegro and Serbia were one nation. The next was a vigorous pronouncement in favor of a federation of all the Jugoslav states, decided upon at a conference to which no representative of Montenegro was invited. Then came a meeting in London in support of a "Serbian Jugoslav kingdom." The final manœuvre was the decision, taken at a meeting of "the Great Skupshtina," that the Montenegrin dynasty should be extinguished in favor of that of Serbia. Mr. Devine asserts that the Great Skupshtina has no constitutional existence at all, and that it is only the national Parliament, legally elected by the people, that can decide as to the sovereignty of the state and the dynasty. The object of this declaration, he says, was simply to exclude Montenegro from a voice at the Peace Conference, and to prevent her from stating her case and standing up for her own independence as a nation.

SEVERAL schemes are being put forward in England to meet the acute shortage of domestic labor and the surplus of women in other lines of industry. According to a report in the *Yorkshire Post*, local committees, acting under the Executive Council for Demobilization and Resettlement, have been instructed to draw up a scheme for the reëmployment of women in domestic service under improved conditions. The committees have also been asked to determine for their particular districts the questions of a proper minimum wage and maximum hours. The Women's Legion also has suggested a detailed plan to be applied to its members, all of whom have been engaged in some form of war work. The plan provides a standard of wages for various grades of domestic service and a careful schedule of hours, designed to "render domestic work as attractive as it ought to be by giving it a status equal to that of similar paid work outside the house." Servants supplied by the Legion will have the support of the organization and will all be trained workers.

THE low birth rate in France has been accentuated during the last four years. A recent report published by the Director of General Statistics, M. March, states that in the seventy-seven Departments which have not suffered invasion there was in 1914 an excess of civilian deaths over births of 53,327, in 1915 of 267,340, in 1916 of 292,655, and in 1917 of 269,838—a total of 883,160. According to the report, this excess of deaths in the last three years is due mainly to the decline in the number of births. While for the year 1913-1914 the number of births averaged about 600,000, in 1915 it fell to 387,806, and in 1916 to 315,087, rising slightly in 1917 to 343,310. On the other hand, the number of deaths has been greater every year since 1913 than it was in that year. In 1913 there were 41 Departments where births exceeded deaths, but in 1914 there were only 26, and in the last three years there has not been a Department where deaths were not in excess.

A LAW conferring upon public servants the right to organize was passed by the French Chamber of Deputies on February 22. The Minister of Labor, M. Colliard, while approving the bill as a whole, attempted to add a provision to the effect that concerted stoppage of work should be considered a rupture of the employment contract; but the amendment was not sustained. The law applies to officials, salaried employees, and wage-earners in the service alike of the Republic, the departments, and the communes. The police, soldiers in active service, judicial magistrates, prefects, and sub-prefects are excepted from the provisions of the law. The president of the committee which reported the measure urged the desirability of having the state afford an example of collective bargaining, and added: "This is a time when these grave questions must be solved, and you cannot draw back at the very moment when you are calling the secretary of the General Confederation of Labor to collaborate with the Peace Conference." The new law also confers "civil capacity" upon trade unions.

ONE of the most active of the various reform organizations in France engaged in the work of political reconstruction is the recently-organized Civic League. Its membership is composed, according to a recent statement of one of its leading members, of "a group of French citizens conscious of their rights and of their duties, firmly, irrevocably attached to republican institutions, who recognize the gravity of the present hour, and who foresee the difficulties of the morrow." The president of the new organization is Prof. E. Denis of the Sorbonne, and among the members of the executive committee are Professors Brunet, Bloch, Glotz, and Pfister of the Sorbonne, Dr. Broca of the Faculty of Medicine, and Dr. Roux, director of the Pasteur Institute. The programme of the League, drawn up by M. H. Berthélemy, professor of law of the Faculty of Paris, demands electoral, Parliamentary, and governmental changes, including a strict application of the doctrine of the separation of powers, the abolition of "professional representation" in the Chamber of Deputies, the creation of a Supreme Court "to insure the respect of the Constitution," and the suppression of Parliamentary initiative in financial matters. Professor Berthélemy also advocates the election of the President of the Republic by an electoral body composed of the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies, and the *Conseils Généraux* of the Departments, in place of the present method of election by the two Chambers.

THE formation of a "Union for a League of Nations" in Austria is announced in a recent issue of the Vienna *Bulletin*. The new organization proposes as its object the support of President Wilson in his effort "to realize the peace of the world founded on equal justice to be meted out to all nations big and small." It further plans to promote interest in and understanding of the league of nations idea through lectures and publicity, to participate in "all coming international sessions," and to keep in close touch with foreign peace societies. The supporters of the Union include Count Heinrich Luetzow, Prof. Heinrich Lammasch, former Premier, and Julius Meinl.

A MEETING was held at Prague on January 23 at which 475 Czecho-Slovak members of the Catholic priesthood demanded far-reaching reforms in the canonical law, chief among which were the abolition of the rights of patronage; the election of bishops by the clergy and the members of the church; the use of the mother tongue in the service and ceremonies of the church; the revocation of the celibacy law for priests and bishops; the democratizing of consistories and vicariates; and the annulment of the rule compelling priests to be clean-shaven and to wear the clerical collar. (In addition to those attending the meeting, 744 priests are said to have declared in favor of these reforms, while only fifty-five declared against them.)

THE Bureau of Information on Soviet Russia (299 Broadway, New York), recently organized under the direction of S. Nuorteva, is issuing a "Weekly Bulletin" of material gathered from European newspapers and news agencies and from similar sources in Russia, little of which has appeared in the press of the United States.

A COLLECTION in Portuguese of twenty of the most notable "Messages, Speeches, and Discourses of President Wilson," covering a period from December 3, 1914, to September 7, 1918, has been published at Rio de Janeiro by José Carlos Rodrigues.

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